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BOOTH'S ESCAPE FROM WASHINGTON AFTER THE ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN, HIS SUBSEQUENT WANDERINGS AND FINAL CAPTURE.

BY WILLIAM TINDALL.

(Read before the Society, January 21, 1913.)

Few travelers on the Potomac River as they pass Mathias Point, are aware that the neighborhood is the scene of one of the most interesting episodes in our National History. That majestic stream which at that place is about two miles wide, there makes a turn from northeast to southeast, almost at a right angle in its course, and is deeper than at any other part of its channel. A part of the right bank of the river in this vicinity, and the east bank opposite Mathias Point and for several miles below, are bordered by stately bluffs some of which reach a height of over eighty feet.

Upon the bluff at the south side of the mouth of Pope's Creek, directly east from Mathias Point, the leading character of this sketch, Thomas A. Jones, resided during the greater part of the continuance of the war, from 1861 to 1865, for the maintenance of the Federal Union. From this elevation an attractive river vista extends to Maryland Point ten miles to the southwest, where it is boldly arrested by the promontory at Potomac Creek. Another prospect opens to the south where it picturesquely expands for twenty miles until it fittingly tones into the horizon at the mystical Cliffs of Nomini.

Under the exalting influence of this scenic environment, which embodies all the charms of an ideal tide-river landscape, Jones arose to his opportunity to

render a hazardous service to two forlorn wretches, which would have appalled anyone less responsive to the promptings of sympathy and courage.

Jones was born near Port Tobacco, a small village in Charles County, Maryland, on October 2, 1820. Although born poor, he had through industry and economy acquired a homestead, on which his large family resided in comfort.

During the war period he was engaged in clandestinely conveying mails and goods contraband of war intended for the people and government of the Confederacy, across the Potomac from Maryland into Virginia, whence they were taken to Richmond; and was once arrested, and imprisoned for six months in the City of Washington for indulging in that sort of partisan activity. Jones not only failed to receive compensation from the Confederacy for his services, but lost three thousand dollars which early in the war he had invested in Confederate bonds.

About the close of the war, Jones sold his farm at Pope's Creek and removed about two miles north of it and about one mile from the Potomac River, to a farm which he named "Huckleberry."

On the fateful night of April 14, 1865, President Lincoln and his wife had gone to Ford's theatre to see Laura Keene in "Our American Cousin." The President's entrance into the theatre was the cause of much commotion. Although the first act had begun, the performance ceased, the orchestra burst forth with "Hail to the Chief," and the audience arose *en masse*, waving handkerchiefs and hats and cheering lustily.

All went well until the second scene of the third act was reached. The President at the time occupied a box at the south end of the stage. With him were Mrs. Lincoln, a Miss Harris, and Major Henry R. Rathbone.

The only actor on the stage at the time was a young man named Harry Hawk.

At about fifteen minutes past 10 o'clock a pistol shot rang out, surprising, though not alarming the audience, as it was first thought to be part of the play. A moment later Mrs. Lincoln screamed and John Wilkes Booth, a young actor of great promise, who had gained access to the President's box, leaped from the box to the stage, flashing a dagger tragically and crying, "*Sic semper tyrannis!*"

As Booth jumped from the box to the stage, a height of about nine feet, his right spur caught on the blue part of an American flag which was draped around the box, and tore out a piece which he dragged half way across the stage. He struck the stage floor with such force that he broke the fibula or small bone in his left leg. Despite this accident he faced the audience, cried "The South is avenged!" made his escape behind the scenes and out of the back of the theatre.

Major Rathbone, when he heard the fatal shot, attempted to seize Booth, who was standing immediately behind the President, and who made a thrust with a dagger at Rathbone's breast which the latter parried with his left arm receiving a wound several inches deep in that arm between the elbow and shoulder.

When the shot was fired, President Lincoln was looking down at some person in the orchestra. The pistol ball entered the back part of the left side of his head just behind his ear and lodged in the front part of the brain a short distance behind the right eye.

President Lincoln was carried across the street to house No. 516 Tenth Street, directly opposite the theatre, the home of a Mr. Peterson, and there he died at 7:22 o'clock the next morning.

After Booth had assassinated the President, he designed to escape by riding from Washington to the neighborhood of Pope's Creek in the State of Maryland, and thence crossing the Potomac into Virginia.

Upon leaving the theatre, he mounted a horse which was being held for him in the back alley running north and south, by a hanger-on at the theatre named Joseph Burroughs, but commonly called Peanut John, whom Edward Spangler had sent out for that purpose. Booth rode up to F Street, as he could not get out at the E street end because of an open sewer there; thence to Ninth Street; down Ninth to E; along E to and through Judiciary Square; down Fourth to Indiana Avenue; by way of Indiana Avenue, the Capitol Grounds and Pennsylvania Avenue to Eleventh Street east, and thence to the Navy Yard Bridge, where he was halted by Sergeant Silas T. Cobb, in charge of the Bridge-guard. He said his name was Smith, and gave a satisfactory explanation to the Sergeant, who passed him across the bridge. A few minutes later, David R. Herold, who was afterward Booth's companion in his flight, rode up to the bridge, and, after a short interrogation, was also passed by the sergeant.

About midnight, the two reached the tavern at Surrattsville kept by John K. Lloyd, and obtained a carbine and some whiskey, which had been placed there several month before as part of the outfit of a plot to abduct the President.

Booth and Herold continued in the bright moonlight toward southern Maryland; but Booth's leg became so painful that instead of going to Port Tobacco Creek and crossing the Potomac River thence to Virginia, as they originally intended, they went a short time before daybreak on Saturday morning, to the house of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, about twenty miles southeast of

Washington. The doctor with the assistance of his wife, dressed Booth's fractured leg, which, Booth told him, was caused by his horse falling upon him.

After leaving Dr. Mudd's they lost their way in Zachiah Swamp at the northern end of Wicomico River, whence they were guided by a negro to the house of Samuel Cox, his master, who was the foster brother of Jones, which they reached about four o'clock that morning. They were hidden by Cox in a small isolated pine grove, densely undergrown with laurel and holly, about five miles northeast of Pope's Creek.

The first connection of Mr. Jones with the incident was on Saturday evening, when two Federal soldiers rode up and told him suspicious characters were in the neighborhood who would be wanting to cross the river, and if he didn't look sharp he would lose his boat; and to his astonishment told him of the assassination of the President.

On Sunday morning, while Jones was at "Huckleberry," the son of Samuel Cox told him that his father wanted to see him about getting some seed corn. But Jones, although suspecting that it was for something connected with the assassination, nevertheless rode over to the home of Mr. Cox, about four miles northeast of "Huckleberry," and saw Cox, who told him that about four o'clock that morning two strange men on horseback accompanied by the negro, Swann, came to his house, and that one of the strangers showed him the initials "J. W. B." in India ink upon his wrist, and threw himself upon his mercy. Cox said to Jones, "We must get these men who were here this morning, across the river." Jones was much disturbed by Cox's disclosure and suggestion. He had been willing to risk his life and had often done so, for the cause of the Confederacy; but he knew that to assist the assassin

of Mr. Lincoln would be to risk his life, and that the whole of the Southern Maryland was swarming with soldiers and detectives. In response to the importunities of Cox, he finally replied that he would see what he could do.

When Jones approached the grove where the two fugitives were hidden and gave the peculiar whistle which Cox had told him was the signal agreed upon, a young man came cautiously out with a carbine ready cocked in his hands. But when Jones told him that he came from Cox, the young man asked him to follow him into the thicket, and introduced him to Booth, who was lying on the ground, supporting his head on his hand, with a carbine, pistols, knife, hat, and a crutch which Dr. Mudd's negro made for him, close beside him, and seemed to be suffering intensely from his broken leg. His condition so strongly excited the compassion of Jones that he determined to get Booth into Virginia regardless of consequences to himself. Booth took his hand and thanked him, and said that he knew the government of the United States would use every means in its power to capture him; but added, "John Wilkes Booth will never be taken alive."

Booth seemed desirous to know what the world thought of his deed and asked for newspapers. The disposition made of their horses has never been accurately determined, but Cox said that some one took the horses toward Zachiah Swamp and that he heard two pistol reports. According to local tradition they were taken away by a young man named Franklin A. Roby and shot on the quicksand, where they sunk of their own weight.

The only two boats on the Maryland shore by which the river could be crossed at that time belonged to Jones. One was a small bateau and the other a some-

what larger fishing boat, both lying in Pope's Creek. The larger one was hidden in the marsh grass. Jones could not understand why the soldiers did not take possession of the bateau when they spoke about it on Saturday. He instructed his negro helper, Henry Woodland, to take the boats and use them to fish regularly, but after fishing to leave them at Dent's meadow, which was about one and a half miles north of Pope's Creek, and was a narrow valley opening to the river between high and steep cliffs, then heavily timbered and covered with an almost impenetrable undergrowth of laurel, with a small stream flowing through it to the river. Jones determined to attempt to send Booth and Herold across to Virginia by way of this meadow.

On Monday morning he prepared some provisions including a flask of coffee which he put in the pockets of his overcoat and rode to Booth's hiding place. While he was talking with Booth, a body of United States cavalry passed the road within two hundred yards of them.

On Tuesday Jones went to Port Tobacco and joined in the discussions in the village, which convinced him that nothing was positively known about the presence of Booth in the neighborhood.

When he was in the bar-room of the old Brawner Hotel, afterward the St. Charles Hotel, Detective William Williams said to him that he would give \$100,000 to anyone who would give him information that would lead to Booth's capture.

Jones replied that \$100,000 was a large sum of money, and ought to get him if money could do it.

Williams suspected that Jones knew more than he was willing to tell, as Jones afterwards learned; but as suspicion was directed toward almost everybody in that section, he had no special reason to infer that

Jones was particularly informed on the subject. Jones always expressed great admiration for the fidelity of Henry Woodland, his negro assistant, who, notwithstanding the threats and importunities of the soldiers and detectives, did not betray the confidence Jones had placed in him, either by words or manner.

Booth's leg had by this time become terribly inflamed, swollen and painful. The weather was cold, cloudy and damp, and so continued throughout the week, although there was no rain. Through these days Booth and Herold lay there in hiding, in an inexpressible condition of untidiness, with only the daily visit of Jones and the newspapers to vary the monotony. Booth never tired of reading the newspapers. They were full of the World's condemnation of his deed which he had obviously expected would establish for him an enviable fame for patriotic zeal and daring.

On the Friday succeeding the assassination, Jones became satisfied that there were no soldiers in the immediate neighborhood, and that it was then his best chance to effect Booth's escape. Jones rode to the hiding place of Booth and Herold and told them that the coast seemed to be clear, and that they should make the attempt.

Herold walked beside Booth who rode the horse of Jones; while Jones preceded them about fifty yards, and announced from time to time, by a whistle, that the way was clear. They only moved forward as he gave the signal and stopped where he was waiting while he went forward again, and again gave the signal for their advance.

Jones and Herold raised Booth upon his horse with difficulty, while he groaned with anguish from his hurt leg. They traveled from the hiding place to the public road and down that road a mile to the corner of Jones's

farm; thence through the farm about one mile farther to the river. The whole distance was about three and a half miles. They passed two dwellings situated close to the road, one of which was occupied by a negro named Sam Thomas, where children were nearly always around, and the other the house of Mr. John Ware, who kept several dogs. The night was inky dark without rain, but the fog was dense and clung to everything and fell in drops upon them from the trees. The gloom and suspense were painful. Jones said that his whistle sounded to him like the blast of a trumpet, and that the tramping of the horse on the soft ground affected his senses like an approaching troop. A light was burning in Thomas's house, but the house was safely passed. As they neared Ware's house, Jones expected to hear the dogs bark, but they kept quiet. After what seemed to Jones an age, they reached his farm and stopped about forty yards from his house, between nine and ten o'clock. He told them to wait there while he went in to get them some supper, which they could eat while he was eating his own.

"Oh," said Booth, "Can't I go in and get some of your hot coffee?"

It cut Jones to the heart to refuse this request, and a lump arose in his throat as he answered, "My friend, it wouldn't do. There are servants in the house who would be sure to see you, and then we should all be lost. Remember, this is your last chance to get away!"

Jones ate his supper, and, after learning from Henry Woodland that the boat was at Dent's Meadow, carried food to Booth and Herold. None of the family paid any attention to what Jones was doing. He afterward naively stated that they knew better than to question him about *anything* in those days.

After eating, they continued to cross the open field toward the river. About 300 yards from the river they came to a fence which was so difficult to remove that they left the horse there, and Herold and Jones assisted Booth to dismount and supported him down the steep, narrow, and crooked path that led to the shore, every step of which gave Booth extreme torture. The Potomac at last was near, and although the wind which had been blowing all day had calmed, there was a swell on the river, whose mournful beating on the beach was heard through the darkness. As they approached the river Jones decided that if the boat were not there, he might hide Booth and Herold in the dense laurel growth on the cliff they were descending, until the next night, and then could get the other; but was relieved to find that the boat was where he had directed Henry Woodland to leave it. The boat was about twelve feet long, of a dark lead color, which he had bought in Baltimore the year before for eighteen dollars.

Jones and Herold helped Booth into the stern of the boat and gave him an oar with which to steer. Herold took the bow seat to row with the other oar. Jones lighted a candle he had brought with him, and carefully shading it with an oil-cloth coat, pointed out on the compass Booth had with him the course he should steer in order to bring them to the residence of Mrs. Quesenberry, on the north bank of and near the mouth of Lower Machodoc Creek, on the Virginia shore, and told them, "If you tell her you come from me I think she will take care of you." Booth offered Jones some money, but he took only eighteen dollars for his boat, as he knew he would never see it again. Booth, in a voice choked with emotion, replied, "God bless you, my dear friend, for all you have done for me. Good-bye, old fellow."

Jones went home relieved of a tremendous load of anxiety. Although he had paid seven visits to Booth during the six days the latter was hiding in the pines, he had never met anyone, either going or returning.

Booth and Herold did not succeed in crossing the river that night, as they lost their way in the fog, and because a flood-tide, which is extremely strong at that point owing to the narrowness of the river channel, and against which Jones had forgotten to caution them, swept the boat up the river to Nanjemoy Creek, up which they went to Avon Creek, still in Maryland, where he and Herold landed during the night and stayed hidden during Saturday. During that day Herold visited the house of Colonel J. J. Hughes, a county official, who gave him food and instructed him how to reach Lower Machodoc Creek. Hughes was very much alarmed by the visit and told Herold to get himself and Booth away as quickly as possible. On Saturday night they left Nanjemoy Creek in their boat and rowed it about twelve miles down the Potomac to Gambo Creek which enters the Potomac River a short distance north of Machodoc Creek. They reached Mrs. Quesenberry's on Sunday morning. Here they were met by Mr. Thomas H. Harbon, the brother-in-law of Jones, and Joseph Badden who assisted them to a hiding place farther up the Creek at the premises of an old man named Bryan. They left their boat at the bridge over Gambo Creek as a present to Mrs. Quesenberry.

The next day they went to Dr. Richard Stewart's who did not receive them at his house but sent them to his barn, mainly for the reason that he had been arrested several times during the war for aiding the Confederacy and did not care to incur any further discomfort for partisan service. Booth was so offended at this treatment that he wrote a letter to the Doctor en-

closing five dollars, and saying that he would not accept service extended to him in that way without paying for it, although the money was hard to spare.

On Monday evening, William Lucas, a negro, to whom Booth gave ten dollars, drove them to Port Conway on the Rappahannock River, where they crossed to Port Royal the same evening accompanied by three former officers of the Confederate Army, Captain W. M. Jett, Captain Ruggles and Lieutenant A. R. Bainbridge who were going that way, and to whom Herold said, "We are the assassins of President Lincoln," and thus caused them great concern. It is of interest respecting the matter of Booth's identity that one of these officers, Captain Jett, testified at the trial of the conspirators that he noticed the initials "J. W. B." on Booth's hand.

They thence went to the house of Mr. Richard H. Garrett, about three miles south of Port Royal where they spent Monday night. On Tuesday, the news that Federal troops were in the neighborhood caused them to leave the house and pass the night in a barn on the place, which was surrounded about one o'clock that night by a squad of Federal soldiers, commanded by Lieutenant E. P. Doherty, who sent young Garrett in to Booth to demand his surrender. Booth refused to surrender and stated that he would never be taken alive, but offered to come out if the troops were withdrawn so as to give him a chance. The barn was then fired, and Herold came out and surrendered. Booth, who could easily be seen by the light of the fire, was shot through a crack in the barn by one of the soldiers named Boston Corbett. The bullet from Corbett's revolver entered the right side of his neck just back of his ear and came out a little higher on the other side. He was taken to Garrett's house and laid on the porch,

where he died. His last words were: "Tell my mother I died for my country, and what I thought was best for it," although he frequently called out in his pain "Kill me," and once endeavoring to raise his arms aggressively, let them fall with the expression "Useless, useless!" His body was brought to the City of Washington, and buried in the old penitentiary enclosure at Arsenal Point, and four years afterwards reinterred in Greenmount Cemetery in Baltimore City.

If Jones had waited until Saturday night, he would have been too late. Before Saturday evening the neighborhood was thronged with soldiers and detectives.

An incident prior to the assassination of Lincoln contributed much to the escape of Jones from special suspicion. Prior to the assassination he had for several days hidden in a wood called Ware's pines, a short distance back of his house, a man named Carson, who was in Maryland on some secret business for the Confederacy, and wanted to be put across the river. Carson had thoughtlessly built a kind of swinging booth of grape vines and boughs to sleep in, and when he went away had left behind him a pair of socks, and an old newspaper, which attracted the attention of one of the detectives who was searching for Booth. This incident proved the strongest factor in Jones' favor, as the sock was one such as were then used by the United States soldiers, and the newspaper had been published *before* the assassination of the President.

Nevertheless, Jones was arrested. Cox was also arrested on the statement of the negro, Oswald Swann, who had guided Booth and Herold to his house; but a colored girl named Mary, who was one of Cox's servants swore that what Swann said was false. It is probable that she did not see Booth and Herold on the night they were there, and therefore swore correctly

so far as she knew. Her testimony saved Cox's life, notwithstanding she was subjected to frequent threats and offers of bribes. Still, it is peculiar how Cox was able to see the initials "J. W. B." on Booth's wrist, unless a light had been carried out of the house by her or someone else. Jones and Cox were subjected to every imaginable device to induce them to divulge a clew, but admitted nothing. They were taken to the old Carroll prison in Washington, but in a few weeks were released.

No fiction, based on possibilities, that the imagination of the most versatile novelist ever conceived, surpasses in incident this actual temporary interposition of fortunate circumstances in behalf of these fugitives and ultimately of their helpers.

The very conspicuity of the pine copse where Booth and Herold were concealed seems to have averted any suspicion on the part of the troops and detectives that the refugees had sought it as a place of hiding.

Another remarkable feature of this case was the omission of the Military Court which tried the assassins to develop where the fugitives were during the six days of their seclusion. The special Judge Advocate, Honorable John A. Bingham, in his argument, referring to the departure of Booth and Herold from Dr. Mudd's says: "*We next find Herold and his confederate Booth, after their departure from the house of Mudd, across the Potomac in the neighborhood of Port Conway, on Monday the 24th of April,*" showing how utterly the detectives and the prosecution had failed to obtain information of the hiding place, and how much the escape of Jones and Cox from conviction for their complicity in assisting the fugitives, was due to the omission of Herold to betray them. With all his frivolity, this misguided youth was not lacking in the

nobleness of character which scorned to betray a friend. Captain Doherty who captured him said that Herold did not mention where they stopped.

Jones lived to a good old age, and, after the excitement incident to the assassination had disappeared, frequently narrated the part he took in Booth's escape. He was afterward employed as a laborer in the Washington Navy Yard, respected for faithful performance of duty and good citizenship.

THE RECOVERY OF THE SOUTHERN CORNER STONE OF THE DISTRICT.

BY FRED E. WOODWARD.

(Read before the Society, March 18, 1913.)

The southern corner stone of the District of Columbia has at last been brought to light and its exact location is no longer a mystery.

The sea-wall surrounding the quaint little Jones's Point lighthouse below Alexandria, Va., has given up its long-kept secret and has been broken into by the United States Engineers, who have been at work in its immediate vicinity for some time past, and the long-buried stone has been uncovered to inspection, for the first time since 1861.

Because of its importance as the initial boundary and one of the standstone pillars or mile stones placed at intervals approximately one mile apart, to define and mark the Federal Territory, it possesses no little historic interest.

Shortly after Congress in 1790, authorized the erection of a territory "ten miles square" on the Potomac river, its actual position was permanently marked by the erection of suitably inscribed brown sandstone monuments, about one foot square, beveled at four inches from the top and extending two feet above the surface of the ground.

These were procured from the quarries leased by the United States Government at Acquia Creek, Va., and were forty in number.

President Washington directed that a preliminary survey should begin at a point on Hunting Creek, by running a line from Alexandria Court House south-

westward half a mile and thence southeastward to the northern shore of Hunting Creek.

After the establishment of the initial point, his instructions regarding the lines of the District were as follows: "Beginning at Jones's Point, being the upper cape of Hunting Creek in Virginia, and at an angle in the outset of forty-five degrees west of the north, and running in a direct line ten miles for the first line: Then beginning again at a right angle with the first, across the Potomac ten miles, for a second line; thence from the termination of said first and second line, running two other lines of ten miles each, the one crossing the eastern branch aforesaid and the other the Potomac and meeting each other in a point."

This being the initial or corner stone of the District, its erection was deemed worthy of a celebration, and this took place in the presence of a large concourse of people, on April 15th, 1791, the ceremonies being under the immediate direction of Hon. Daniel Carroll and Dr. David Stuart, both Commissioners.

The latter was a practicing physician, residing in Alexandria, Va., and was the leading practitioner in that part of the state. He was at this time somewhat elderly, benevolent-looking and a great admirer of the classic poets, whom he often quoted in conversation; while Mr. Carroll, though still a young man, was already one of the prominent citizens of Washington, and a large land holder.

A correspondent of the *Massachusetts Spy*, writing from Alexandria, a few days after the occurrence, thus describes the affair:

"On Friday the 15th. inst. 1791, The Hon. Daniel Carroll and Dr. David Stewart arrived in this town to superintend the fixing of the corner stone of the federal district. . . .

The mayor and the commonality, together with the members of the different lodges of the town, at three o'clock waited on the Commissioners at Mr. Wise's, where they had arrived, and after drinking a glass of wine to the following sentiment,

"May the stone we are about to place in the ground remain an immovable monument of the wisdom and unanimity of North America,"

the company proceeded to Jones's Point in the following order:

1. The town sergeant.
2. The Hon. Daniel Carroll and the Mayor.
3. Mr. Ellicott and the recorder.
4. Such of the aldermen and common council as were not Free Masons.
5. The strangers.
6. The Master of Lodge No. 22 with Dr. David Stuart at his right and the Rev. James Muir at his left, followed by the rest of the fraternity in their usual form of procession, and lastly
7. The citizens, two by two.

When Mr. Ellicott had ascertained the precise point from which the first line of the District was to proceed, the Master of the Lodge and Dr. Stuart, assisted by others of the brethren, placed the stone: after which a deposit of corn, wine and oil was made upon it.

In the course of his remarks Rev. James Muir said:

"May this stone long commemorate the Goodness of God, in those uncommon events which have given America a place among nations. Under this stone may jealousy and selfishness be buried forever.

"From this stone may a superstructure arise whose glory, whose magnificence, whose stability, unequalled hitherto, shall astonish the world and invite even the savage of the wilderness to a shelter under its roof."

The company partook of some liquid refreshment and retired to the place from which they came, where a number of toasts were drank.

In 1885, the United States overnment established and built a lighthouse upon Jones's Point, about 15 feet north of the boundary stone and six years later, 1861, under the direction of the United States Engineer Corps, a retaining sea wall was constructed upon the top of and over the stone, completely hiding it from view.

For more than half a century, no human eye has looked upon this earliest monument, the subject of Dr. Muir's prophecy.

About eight years ago the speaker visited the site of each of these ancient landmarks and was able to secure photographs of nearly all of them. The result of these excursions was presented to this Society on May 14th, 1906, and January 14th, 1907, respectively.

At this time and, in fact, ever since the civil war, the exact location of this stone has been a baffling mystery. There has been no uncertainty as to the main fact, viz: that the stone was somewhere under the sea wall of the Jones's Point lighthouse, below Alexandria, Va.

Marcus Baker says in his "Surveys and Maps of the District of Columbia," a paper read before the Geographical Society, March 23, 1894,

"On the 15th of April, 1791, there was laid with solemn and elaborate Masonic ceremonies, the corner stone of the District of Columbia. This stone, still standing, though hidden from view, forms a part of the foundation wall of the lighthouse at Jones' Point, near Alexandria, Va. It is under the gateway in front of the south door of the lighthouse."

"An inquiry addressed to the Lighthouse Board asking for its exact location was answered in these

words: 'Referring to your letter relating to the location of the southern corner stone of the District of Columbia, which is said to be located on Jones' Point lighthouse reservation, the board states that its records and those of the engineer of the Fifth Lighthouse District throw no light on the subject; but an unverified statement places the stone under the front steps of the keeper's dwelling.' "

During a conversation with Mr. F. E. Wilkins, the lighthouse keeper, he showed the writer an old map of the surrounding territory then owned by the Southern Railway Company, on which the line of the District (which is at present the dividing line between Alexandria and Fairfax Counties of Virginia) was shown,—crossing the southwestern corner of the dwelling, thence across the yard formed by the sea wall, emerging from the sea wall immediately beneath a small flight of wooden steps leading from the yard above mentioned to the beach. This convinced me that the stone would be found (if ever found at all) in this exact place. This map may be found in Vol. 11, Plate 3, Columbia Historical Society's publications.

Some months later there was discovered in the records of the engineer's office, a report of Mr. C. H. Sinclair, made in 1884 (which I understand has never been printed), in which mention was made of a mark made on the sea wall. A part of this reports is as follows:

"At Jones' Point in 1861 a sea wall three feet eight and a half inches high was built and the corner stone enclosed in the wall.

The light house keeper, Mr. Greenwood, saw the stone at the time the wall was built and says it was 12 inches by 12 inches and stood 15 inches above the ground.

The wall has a batter of 2 inches, and on a stone marked in the sketch, a figure is cut.

The keeper said that this was cut to show where the center of the side of the stone was, and as near as he could place it, the centre of the stone itself was at a point 6 inches from the edge of top of the wall, and that on this wall, stone was on the outside of the corner stone."

A year or two ago the flight of wooden steps referred to was washed away by a severe storm, leaving this portion of the wall immediately accessible, as it had not been before.

Mr. E. B. Gregg, of this city, rendered a very acceptable service by discovering on the face of this wall, an *arrowhead mark*, evidently made for a purpose.

This mark was photographed and is shown in the pictures presented.

The discovery of this mark, which agreed so nearly with Mr. Sinclair's description, seemed conclusive to me that the long-looked-for stone had been definitely located, if not discovered, and I immediately took steps to secure the necessary authority to demolish a part of the wall, and bring once more to light this ancient landmark, this first tangible mark of an effort to implant in what was then a wilderness, the permanent boundaries of the future home of the infant republic.

In the light of today, and in the prophetic light of the future, what momentous events radiate from this bit of sandstone.

Both branches of the United States Government having charge of the reservation, the Engineer Corps and the Lighthouse Board, readily gave their permission, but stipulated that there should be no expense attending the same, chargeable to their department, and that everything should be done under their direction.

Thus the matter rested until June, 1912, when Lieut. Col. W. C. Langfitt, of the United States Engineer Corps, at that time engaged in extensive operations in the immediate vicinity of the stone, broke into the wall and, as I had foreseen, found the stone within a few inches of its predicted location.

Still further, the Engineer Corps has constructed a substantial niche or cage about six feet long and four feet in height and two and one-half feet in depth, covered with a broad concrete slab.

This slab has a circular opening some six inches in diameter exactly over the center of the stone, making it accessible for surveyors.

The opening in front of the stone measures four feet wide and two feet eight inches in height. The stone is slightly varied in shape from the remaining ones, being about eleven inches by nearly fourteen inches, instead of the usual twelve by twelve. About twenty-two inches of the stone is now above the surface of the ground, which at this point is beach sand.

In view of the fact that this historic boundary stone has been brought to light and well protected, and also that the United States Government has recently reclaimed a large tract of land north of and almost adjoining the reservation on which the lighthouse is situated, it would seem almost certain that this spot will become an object of veneration and of frequent pilgrimages on the part of sightseers and others.

Unfortunately, the lighthouse and its tiny reservation of 2952 square feet (about one small city lot) is surrounded by private property, a small portion of which should be acquired by the United States in order to gain access to the stone.

At the present time there is no public roadway leading to the reservation and the corner stone, but it

seems probable that such a road may be opened up through this newly reclaimed area and leading from Alexandria.

Such a road, if constructed, would not give access to the corner stone, there being still some twenty-five or thirty feet of private property between them.

A suggestion has been made that the Government purchase a small portion of the extreme point of land on which the lighthouse now stands, say all east of the present westerly line of the reservation.

The ground is almost without value and its selling price would certainly be a mere trifle, as there is less than half an acre and all of it sand.

It seems more than likely that if such a bill were to be introduced into Congress, no objection would be made and the bill would pass.

Lieut. Col. W. C. Langfitt, of the Engineer Corps, deserves our kind consideration for valuable services rendered by him in uncovering the stone and allowing us to photograph the same as soon as it was visible, and later constructing a suitable concrete cage which is a perfect protection for the stone.

Some inscription should be placed upon the enclosure to the effect that this is

THE INITIAL CORNER STONE OF THE DISTRICT OF
COLUMBIA, PLACED IN POSITION
APRIL 15, 1791.

An enduring bronze tablet will cost about \$75.00, but pending the question of expending such a sum, a printed sign might be secured at a cost of a few dollars.

The present time is a favorable one to suggest to the Representatives in Congress from this Congressional

district in Virginia that a little effort and the expenditure of a small sum of money would suffice to restore and fully protect for the future the remaining thirteen stones on the Virginia side of the old territory, thus saving these ancient and truly honorable landmarks from hand of the careless and the wantonly vandal, leaving them subject only to the ravages of time, whose softening finger dulls the sharpest lines and adds a beauty and a charm even to decay.



THE CONCRETE CAGE OVER THE STONE.
Erected in 1912.



A SKETCH OF MAYOR SAYLES J. BOWEN.

BY WILLIAM TINDALL.

(Read before the Society, March 18, 1913.)

The leading residents of the City of Washington from the time of its establishment, were zealous in advocating projects to make it the fitting capital of a great nation. The avidity with which they committed the credit of the city to the project of constructing the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, by subscribing \$1,000,000 in stock for the construction of that work, shows that they were not lacking in public-spirited enterprise, notwithstanding it was afterwards found that the obligation was too great a burden for the limited resources of the city to bear, and Congress under the patriotic exhortation of Senator Samuel M. Southard, assumed the debt by its Act of May 20, 1836. While they thus accomplished much to that end in a desultory way, the artistic development of the plan of the city as it is at present, practically commenced in 1868 to 1870, under the administration of Mayor Sayles Jenks Bowen.

Mr. Bowen was born in the township of Scipio, Cayuga County, in the State of New York, on October 13, 1813, and died on December 16, 1896, at what was then 3055 Q Street in the City of Washington, and is buried in the Congressional Cemetery. His parents were from Massachusetts and were among the first settlers of that county.

He worked on his father's farm until he attained his majority; received a good academic education, and from the age of seventeen taught school during the winter season. On July 2, 1835, he was married to Mary Barker, daughter of John A. Barker, of Venice

in the county above mentioned. Two female children were born of this marriage, both of whom died in this City in their childhood. After the death of his first wife he married Mrs. Bessie B. Bentley, who survived him.

It was not my privilege to be acquainted with Mr. Bowen's second wife, but my memory will always hold in reverence the excellence of his first one, who was one of the most beautiful of women in person and character. She reminds me of that idol of the White House, Mrs. Lucy Webb Hayes, who was not only for a time the first lady of the land by virtue of a partisan triumph, but innately so by the grace of God, and who was never afraid that the gentle manifestation of a human interest in the small concerns of everyone about her, regardless of their social or official station, would detract from the dignity she never had need to assert by an air of superiority, indifference or disdain.

From 1838 to 1842 Mr. Bowen was employed in his native locality in mercantile business, and then went South. In 1845 he was appointed a clerk in the Treasury Department at Washington, but was removed from that position by the Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker, for refusing to contribute to the fund to elect Lewis Cass to the Presidency, and for sending out documents against the extension of negro slavery. He advocated and aided in the election of Martin Van Buren because of his anti-slavery opinions.

After his removal from that office he became a claim agent and was successful in the settlement of accounts of army officers who had returned from the Mexican War. His business brought him into favorable intercourse with influential men of the slave states, who recognized his abilities and from 1856 to 1861 frequently sought to induce him to join in their plan of

secession. His firmness in opposing these overtures subjected him to severe persecution. He took an active part in the Presidential campaigns of 1856 and 1860, in behalf of the Republican candidates, and subsequently possessed the confidence of President Lincoln in the highest degree.

In 1861, he was appointed a Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police in the District of Columbia. The same year he was made disbursing officer of the United States Senate. In 1862, he was appointed Collector of Internal Revenue and held that position until he was appointed Postmaster of the City of Washington in March, 1863, and in that capacity until the close of the war in 1865, managed the mails to and from the eastern army in the field with general satisfaction. When President Johnson removed Edwin M. Stanton from the position of Secretary of War and appointed General Lorenzo Thomas, Secretary of War *ad interim*, he directed the Postmaster to deliver the mail of the War Department to General Thomas, but Mr. Bowen promptly handed the mail of that Department to Secretary Stanton, and by that means defeated the object of President Johnson. Mr. Bowen continued as Postmaster until his election as Mayor of the City of Washington in 1868. When he was first appointed Postmaster much complaint was made of delay in mail deliveries. He discovered that some of the clerks in his office habitually left a mass of undistributed mail in their desks overnight. He had the desks opened one evening and in each case where he found such detained letters, removed them and substituted therefor an order dismissing the delinquent.

For eleven years he was a member of the Levy Court of the County of Washington in the District of Columbia and as such was instrumental in promot-

ing many radical improvements in the arrangement and betterment of the suburban and agricultural public highways. He was especially active in endeavoring to restrict the number of places where intoxicating liquors were sold and subjecting them to more rigid surveillance by the police.

Mr. Bowen was one of the first people in the District to advocate the establishment of a public school system for the colored children of Washington, and prepared with his own hand every law relating to it which was enacted during his lifetime. Under his management as trustee and treasurer of this branch of public education the first school buildings for colored children were erected. When the City authorities, who were influenced by racial prejudice against the public education of colored children, refused to contribute the City's share of the fund for such educational purposes, Mr. Bowen advanced the necessary money from his own private means for nearly a year. These advances amounted to over \$20,000. He was the first executive officer of the District to appoint colored persons to offices of public trust and honor. His influence was also largely instrumental in securing the enactment of the law to vest the colored men with the right of suffrage in municipal affairs and to enable negroes to be witnesses and jurors in courts of law, and subjecting them to only such legal penalties as were applicable to the white residents of the District.

The public improvements executed under his administration as Mayor were the inspiration and object lessons which led up to the adoption of the comprehensive system of the Board of Public Works. Through his encouragement and efforts, the first successful bituminous concrete pavements were invented by Mr. Smith and laid in the District. These were

probably the first municipal pavements of the kind in history. The first of such pavements was a small section of sidewalk on Pennsylvania Avenue in front of what was the Central National Bank Building, which was laid by Messrs. Smith and Burlew. The next was the coal-tar concrete pavement carriage-way on Vermont Avenue from H to I Streets Northwest, in front of The Arlington, by Mr. George Scharf, which was one of the most durable pieces of bituminous pavement ever laid in this City. The existing plan of numbering homes was also adopted under his administration, and a general system of sewerage projected.

But not the least of his many public benefactions was his activity in originating and securing the enactment of the Act of Congress approved April 6, 1870, which authorized the present system of street parking, in which he was seconded by Mr. Henry Willard and Honorable John Sherman, the details of which are set out on page 290 of Volume 3 of the Records of this Society.

His activities and public spirit were conspicuous and effective in every department of local public concern.

As every great step in human advancement is made from a vantage ground established by the efforts of less conspicuous predecessors, so the distinctive progress made by Mr. Bowen showed to the versatile and ambitious mind of Alexander R. Shepherd the way to more comprehensive measures for the improvement of the National Capital and the path of his enduring fame.

The first election in the District of Columbia in which negroes voted was on June 3, 1867, at which members of the Board of Aldermen for expired terms, and members of the Common Council, and the Collector of Taxes and the Register were chosen.

Mr. Bowen was Mayor of the City of Washington from the first Monday of June, 1868, to the first Monday of June, 1870. He was elected to that position as a Republican.

At that election, which was held on Monday, June 1, 1868, for Mayor, and members of the Board of Aldermen and Board of Common Council, Mr. Bowen received 9,170 votes; John T. Given, 9,087; Richard Wallach, 1, and A. C. Richards, 1, according to the report made June 8, 1868, by the committee appointed at a joint meeting of those boards. Mr. Bowen accordingly appeared in the Council Chamber and was then and there sworn in as Mayor of the City of Washington by the President, Zalmon Richards, of the Board of Aldermen, who was presiding over that meeting.

There was much dissent from that action by Mr. Bowen's opponents, and counter claims were made in behalf of his principal rival to such an extent that the Democratic members of the Councils also appointed a joint committee to count the ballots, and on the 11th of June announced the election of a Mayor *ad interim*, in the person of Thomas E. Lloyd. But Mr. Bowen obtained the physical possession of the Mayor's office, which constituted nine points of the law. The moral support of the Superintendent of Police, Major A. C. Richards, supplied the remaining point. Mr. Bowen, consequently, performed the duties of Mayor without molestation for the full term of two years.

Many of the supporters of Mr. Given were not Democrats by affiliation, but voted the Democratic ticket because they were not reconciled to accepting as a fellow suffragist the negro, whom they had been accustomed from infancy to regard as a lower class of being.

On November 6, 1865, this feeling had found expression in the Board of Common Council by the introduc-

tion of a resolution which passed that body on the 13th of that month and the Board of Aldermen on the 20th of the same month, and became law, as follows:

CHAP. 203.

JOINT RESOLUTION providing for a special election to ascertain the sentiments of the people of Washington on the question of negro suffrage.

Resolved by the Board of Aldermen and Board of Common Council of the City of Washington, That in the event that any bill be introduced in Congress for the admission of the colored man of this city to the right of suffrage, that the Mayor be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to call the Councils together within two days' notice, for the purpose of taking into consideration measures for holding a special election to ascertain the sentiments of the people on the subject.

Approved November 23, 1865.

On December 11 the Mayor, in consonance with the spirit of that resolution, reported to the Common Council that a bill had been introduced in both houses of Congress to extend to colored persons the right of suffrage in the District. This report was referred to a special committee of the Common Council, which on the 14th of that month reported a joint resolution which resulted in the passage of the following ordinance in which the Board of Aldermen concurred on the same date.

CHAP. 218.

AN ACT authorizing a Special Election to ascertain the opinion of the people of Washington on the question of Negro Suffrage.

Whereas, Several bills have been introduced in Congress having in view the extension of the elective franchise, in this city, so as to confer its privileges upon the negro population; and, whereas, the members of the National Legisla-

ture, to whom is committed the protection of the interests of the people of the National Metropolis, should be correctly informed of the sentiments of this community on a question so materially affecting their present and future interests, as well as the interests of the country generally, Therefore—

Be it enacted by the Board of Aldermen and Board of Common Council of the City of Washington, That the Mayor be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to cause a special election to be held on Thursday, the 21st day of December, 1865, and cause polls to be opened on that day, and to be kept open from eight o'clock in the morning till six o'clock in the evening, to enable the legal voters of the City of Washington to give expression, in a formal manner, to their opinions on the propriety of extending the elective franchise to the negro population, now residents, or hereafter to become residents, within the limits of this Corporation.

Sec. 2. And be it enacted, That the Commissioners of the last election shall be, and are hereby, authorized to act as Commissioners of the special election herein provided for; and in case of the absence, disability, or refusal of any of them to serve, then such vacancy or vacancies shall be filled in the manner provided by existing law.

Sec. 3. And be it enacted, That the Commissioners of this special election shall, under the direction of the Mayor, have prepared and printed the necessary ballots to enable the legal voters of the several election precincts to give a full and fair expression of their sentiments upon the question herein submitted to them; and that the votes received shall be counted by the Commissioners aforesaid and returned to the Mayor, who shall transmit a copy of the said returns to the presiding officer of each House of Congress, to be laid before those bodies, and cause the same to be published in the newspapers of this city.

Sec. 4. And be it enacted, That a sum sufficient to defray the expense of said election be, and the same is hereby, appropriated out of the General Fund.

Approved December 16, 1865.

In pursuance of this ordinance a special election was held on the 21st day of December, 1865, the result of which is set forth in the following letter from the Mayor to the President of the Senate of the United States:

WASHINGTON CITY, MAYOR'S OFFICE,

January 6, 1866.

HON. L. F. S. FOSTER,

President of the Senate of the United States.

Sir:

I have the honor, in compliance with an act of the Councils of this city, approved December 16, 1865, to transmit through you to the Senate of the United States the result of an election held on Thursday, 21st of December, to ascertain the opinion of the people of Washington on the question of negro suffrage, at which the vote was 6,626, segregated as follows:

Against negro suffrage	6,591
For negro suffrage	35
<hr/>	
Majority against negro suffrage	6,556

This vote, the largest, with but two exceptions, ever polled in this city, conclusively shows the unanimity of sentiment of the people of Washington in opposition to the extension of the right of suffrage to that class, and that its integrity may be properly appreciate by the Senate, I give the aggregate of the vote cast at the five elections immediately preceding, for Mayor.

1856	5,840
1858	6,813
1860	6,975
1862	4,816
1864	5,720

No others, in addition to this minority of thirty-five, are to be found in this community who favor the existence of the right of suffrage to the class, and in the manner pro-

posed, excepting those who have already memorialized the Senate in its favor, and who, with but little association, less sympathy, and no community of interest or affinity with the citizens of Washington, receive here from the general government, temporary employment, and having, at the National Capital, a residence, limited only to the duration of a presidential term, claim, and invariably exercise the elective franchise elsewhere.

The people of this city, claiming an independence of thought, and the right to express it, have thus given a grave and deliberate utterance, in an unexaggerated way, to their opinion and feeling on this subject.

This unparalled unanimity of sentiment which pervades all classes of this community in opposition to the extension of the right of suffrage to that class engenders an earnest hope that Congress, in according to this expression of their wishes, the respect and consideration they would, as individual members, yield to those whom they immediately represent, would abstain from the exercise of its absolute power, and so avert an impending future, apparently so objectionable to those over whom, by the fundamental law of the land, they have "exclusive jurisdiction."

With much respect, I am, sir,

Your own and the Senate's

Obedient servant,

RICHARD WALLACH, *Mayor.*

A similar election was held in Georgetown on the 28th day of December, 1865, in pursuance of the following resolution of the councils of that town:

A RESOLUTION in regard to Negro Suffrage.

Whereas it is proposed in the Congress of the United States so to amend the charter of Georgetown as to extend the elective franchise to persons of color in said town; and whereas such legislation, in the opinion of this Corporation, is wholly uncalled for, and would be an act of grievous oppression, against which a helpless community have no defence, except by an appeal to the sense of justice of Con-

gress; and whereas it may tend to avert this evil to have an expression of opinion from the voters of the town: Therefore

Resolved, That the polls be opened on the twenty-eighth day of December inst., and be kept open on said day between the hours of 9 o'clock a. m. and 6 p. m., at the several precincts of the town, under the direction of the Commissioners of Election, for a special balloting by the qualified voters of the town upon the question whether they are in favor of the extension of the right of suffrage by law to the colored inhabitants of said town or not—those in favor of said extension to vote “Yes,” and those opposed thereto to vote “No;” and the Commissioners of Election immediately after said vote, shall return the result thereof to this Corporation.

Resolved further, That the Mayor be, and he is hereby, requested to give due notice of said resolution by publication.

Approved December 22, 1865.

The result of that election was 712 against negro suffrage and one vote in favor of it.

But the enormous influx into the District of former negro slaves from Maryland and Virginia in addition to the negroes already resident in the District, offered such an opportunity to give the Republican Party control of the City of Washington through their enfranchisement, that Congress, which was then preponderantly Republican and zealous to extend the suffrage to the blacks, took advantage of this condition by the enactment of “An Act to regulate the elective franchise in the District of Columbia, which President Andrew Johnson vetoed, but which the Senate and House of Representatives passed on the 7th and 8th of January, 1867, respectively (14 Stat. 676). The voters under this statute were:

“Every male person excepting paupers and persons under guardianship, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards,

who have not been convicted of any infamous crime or offense, and excepting persons who may have voluntarily given aid and comfort to the rebels in the rebellion, and who have been born or naturalized in the United States, and shall have resided in said District for the period of one year, and three months in the ward or election precinct in which he shall offer to vote, next preceding any election therein,"

thus sweeping away all racial and property qualifications, and omitting to recognize any kind of educational training as a prerequisite to the intelligent or responsible exercise of the fundamental function of municipal citizenship.

A stream cannot rise higher than its source, and when one reflects upon the dense ignorance, and utter absence of ethical apprehension, of a vast portion of the voting material of the time, it is a wonder that the outcome was not more humiliating to enlightened civic sensibility.

At the election of Mayor on June 6, 1870, Mr. Bowen was opposed by Matthew Gault Emery, who was the candidate of those who disagreed with Mr. Bowden's policies, those whom he had offended by his resentments, and those who were ambitious to become conspicuous in municipal affairs upon the ruin of his political fortunes. The result of that election was that Mr. Emery received 10,076 votes; Mr. Bowen, 6,882, and A. C. Richards, 1. Mr. Emery held the position of Mayor from the first Monday in June, 1870, until the 31st day of May, 1871, inclusive, when the office was abolished by the operation of the Act of Congress of February 21, 1871, which consolidated the City of Washington, Georgetown and the Levy Court, into one municipality designated the District of Columbia. During the month of May, 1871, the functions of his

office, so far as they related to street improvements, were overlapped by the jurisdiction of the Board of Public Works, which had been created by the Act of February 21, 1871. The first wood carriage-way laid in the District of Columbia was constructed on Pennsylvania Avenue, from First to Fifteenth Streets northwest, during Mayor Emery's administration, and was the occasion of a notable night celebration on Pennsylvania Avenue between those points.

Mr. Bowen possessed the needful public spirit, foresight, capacity and energy for municipal enterprise, but those qualities were impaired by his facility to estrange his co-workers, that restricted his usefulness and led to his total discomfiture through the enmities thus engendered. The implacable resentment of his enemies pursued him to his grave, and even secured his removal, in the decrepitude of his eighty-odd years, from the humble position of watchman in the State Department Building. He was an excellent writer both in composition and penmanship. His habits of all kinds were simple, and unostentatious. He was a devoted friend and an entertaining companion.

Mr. Bowen's principal defect in policy was his disinclination to conciliate an enemy when it was to his advantage to do so; the contrary of which was one of Governor Shepherd's conspicuous traits. That alone, in my judgment, prevented Mr. Bowen from forestalling Governor Shepherd as the physical redeemer of the National Capital, and attaining the eminent estimation in public opinion that has immortalized the latter's municipal achievements. As an instance of the extent to which he often carried his resentments, I quote from his letter to the Councils as a retort to a resolution of inquiry respecting the cost of issuing certain bonds: "When a charge of this character is made

by a gentleman, or can be traced to any respectable source, I will answer it as the provocation deserves."

He came with conspicuous credit out of the deal for the purchase of the house on I Street next to the corner of New Jersey Avenue, which was built by John C. Breckenridge, who was Vice-President of the United States from March 4, 1857, to March 3, 1861. This house had been donated to President Ulysses S. Grant, who had agreed in writing to sell it to Mr. Bowen, but afterward by unseemly insistence prevailed upon Mr. Bowen to relinquish his bargain in order that it might be sold at a higher price to those who wished to buy it for a present to General William Tecumseh Sherman.

At the time Mr. Bowen was elected and during his Mayoralty, he was possessed of considerable wealth, but through a bad investment, and particularly through becoming bondsman to two contractors for the erection of a custom house in the City of Memphis, Tennessee, who failed to keep that contract, he lost substantially all of his fortune.

The achievements of both Bowen and Shepherd were restricted by the necessity to resort to political manipulation to secure for the general projects it was their aim to effect, the support of the elective branches of the governments of which they were the heads.

Mayor Bowen was obliged to defer to the sectional claims of each of the members of the City Council and to appoint to delicate and important administrative positions men whose title to such recognition was that they had mustered a cohort of voters at the polls on election day, and were too necessary to party domination to be subjected to the discipline which was essential to the attainment of the best results from the expenditure of public money for public purposes.

Every inspiration for the establishment of an ideal municipal policy was hampered by the contemplation that the ward politician must be propitiated with profits, and his representative in the councils with patronage or other favors.

Governor Shepherd as an executive officer of the Board of Public Works was embarrassed by the same limitations, and in order to secure the means and authority to prosecute his great conceptions, was obliged to scatter contracts to Congressmen, Assemblymen, lobbyists and ward-healers, with a lavish hand, and depend for scrutiny as to the manner of their execution upon inspectors who, in many cases, relied for retention in office more upon the political influence which secured their appointment than upon the fidelity with which they performed their official duty.

As an instance of the grotesque notion of partisan fealty which prevailed to a great extent among the newly enfranchised negroes, I recall that one of my friends rented a house to a prominent negro politician in his ward, and failing to get his money became somewhat importunate and finally told his debtor that he would be obliged to eject him unless he paid the debt. He was astonished to receive from his debtor the indignant rejoinder: "You is a hell of a Republican!"

Upon my return to the office during Mr. Bowen's administration, after a short absence, one of the colored Superintendents of Streets accosted me with the statement that the official who acted in my stead had no manners; and gave as the reason for his indignation that he had been addressed in a letter as "Mister," whereas he thought he should have been called at least "Esquire."

Tom Bowie, another notorious negro politician of that régime, was drowned by falling from the stern

of a steam tug which was drawing a big scow filled with a choice assortment of potential negro voters from the pine-bordered strand of Charles and Prince George's Counties of Maryland, who by the mere fact of their gender were superior to such political incompetents as Julia Ward Howe, George Eliot, Harriet Martineau, Frances Willard, Jane Addams, and many of my present auditors.

Yet it is due to the citizenship of those times to add that many of the members of the Councils and Legislature were men whose intelligence, public spirit and sense of duty were equal to those of the best element in any community: men whom it is an honor to have known and whose names are mentioned only with reverence. Among the most conspicuous and active of these was Mr. Appleton P. Clark, whose voice and vote were always found in advocacy of municipal progress and good administration, and for whom it was my honorable privilege to vote on several occasions, and once to help him defeat an unworthy opponent, whose habitual inquiry when asked to support a measure in which an appropriation was involved was, "How much of the hair on this dog is for me?" The legislative record of Mr. Clark especially attests remarkable zeal and achievement in matters of public education.

After the conclusion of the Civil War, which had focussed the attention of the country on the City of Washington, the need for the civic betterment of the National Capital became pressingly apparent to all visitors, in order that it might comport with the power and dignity of the nation it represented. Many of the more substantial and sagacious of its residents began to doubt that the elective system then in vogue vested in the control of municipal affairs a sufficiently concentrated and independent authority to meet the

obvious need for peremptory administration of those affairs. The effect of that system was a sort of desultory accumulation of municipal improvements, without regard to the interest of the whole. But the worst phase of the status was the lack of any methodical participation of the general government in the expense or management of those public works upon which the appearance, safety and comfort of the Seat of Government depended.

Out of the humiliation which this chaotic state engendered, a sentiment developed in favor of a form of local government more directly responsible to the national direction, and this sentiment found expression in an extended movement in favor of a commission form of government for the District of Columbia.

The prevalence of this sentiment during Mayor Bowen's administration became so obvious that the newly enfranchised element which then held the balance of local municipal power, became apprehensive as to the security of their prestige, and protested through one of their spokesmen, Carter A. Stewart, a mulatto member of the Board of Aldermen, who introduced the following resolution in that body on January 10, 1870, which passed that board on the same day, and the Common Council on the 17th of the same month:

BOARD OF ALDERMEN 489.

"Whereas it is currently reported that a movement is in progress to obtain from Congress a change in the form of government of this municipality, by withdrawal of the charter by which the present Corporation is established, and substituting therefor a board of Commissioners to be appointed by the President of the United States, which would deprive the citizens of Washington of any voice in the choice of their rulers, and imply that the people of this city are not quali-

fied for the exercise of the right of suffrage and of self-government as allowed to every other people under our republican institutions; therefore,

"Resolved by the Board &c., That we earnestly and solemnly enter our protest against any movement having for its object the placing of this City under a board of commissioners, appointed by the President, who may often be unacquainted with the local interests of the city, and strangers to the sentiments and desires of its people; and that the Mayor be, and he is hereby, requested to communicate a copy of this preamble and resolution to the Committees on the District of Columbia in the Senate and in the House of Representatives of the United States."

It is interesting and instructive to note that the reversion of the government of the District from a government by unqualified male suffrage to an administration by directly appointed agents of the United States was not a sudden impulse but was due to the gradual growth of a very extended belief that the conditions which prevailed during the time of Mayor Bowen's mayoralty, and his predecessors and successor, were not such as inured in the best way to the attainment of the object of the projectors of the National Capital and it is important for those who are concerned for the welfare of the District to consider whether Congress may feel justified in entrusting its responsibility for the management of the local affairs of the Seat of Government to those residents of the District, who do not claim legal residence elsewhere, regardless of any concern as to the competency of their citizenship.

Mr. Bowen was keenly alert to the aesthetic possibilities of the City of Washington. He was fond of the view from the Capitol Building, both down New Jersey Avenue and up Delaware Avenue, and fondly

hoped that some day the scenic advantages of those vistas would be utilized. The hill on the south side of the Eastern Branch provided as it still does an admirable objective for the New Jersey Avenue project; while Patterson's Woods at the north end of Delaware Avenue then furnished an unsurpassed opportunity for artistic treatment in that direction. I never look at the huge obstruction across Delaware Avenue known as the Union Station, whose somewhat impressive façade appears to have been designed to support an unsightly pea-green roof, without a pathetic recollection of his admiration for the landscape potentiality which it has frustrated.

As the silhouette of his achievements and efforts in the public behalf appears upon the background of time, the outlines are those of a figure of more than ordinary proportions, and deserving of a commendatory tribute from those who have been enabled thereby to attain a broader apprehension and better results in the field of municipal betterment.

It is good ground for reproach, especially to the colored people of the District for whom he did so much, that his grave is not distinguished by a worthy monument.

THE TITLE DEEDS OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.

By H. C. GAUSS.

(Read before the Society, December 16, 1913.)

I have found it difficult to adhere to the purpose I had formed for this paper, only to tell where the materials for the reconstruction of the transactions incident to the founding of the original city of Washington may be found.

At every point, romance has suggested wider wanderings. Tempting deductions have peeped out from every page of old account books. Abounding traditions have beckoned me here and there on fascinating side trips to determine their content of truth.

I am not certain that I shall deny myself wholly the pleasures of speculation, but I start, at least, determined to deal only with the actual contents of books and papers.

I need not repeat the familiar story of the selection of the location of the city. Before I became somewhat familiar with the history of the internal waterways of America, I could understand neither the influences which bound the Virginia contingent so strongly to this one location or the argument which they could present in its favor. Let me rehearse briefly the situation from an eighteenth century standpoint, and the statement will, I think, make it clear that the location chosen was not a concession to a feeling of local pride on the part of Washington, or a surrender to a solid Southern sentiment, but a recognition of a logical presentation that it was here that an entirely new city, free from all existing interests, could be established

with more than a probability of sufficient and continued growth to insure its perpetuation.

The history of this country is the history of the development of its interior. Until the Pacific Ocean was reached, the pressure never relaxed for a moment. Like a fluid it has constantly sought the point of the least resistance. When the long overland route from Albany to the West was subject to the caprice of powerful Indian tribes, the almost continuous water route by the way of the Potomac assumed a greater importance than we can connect with the comparatively slight commerce it now bears.

To Washington it seemed the greatest prospect of his age. Thoroughly familiar with its possibilities, he was perfectly accurate in his deductions, except that he could not foresee the railroad. Today, we still dream of fleets of barges on the slack water navigation of the Potomac. But for the railroad, Washington's vision of a great commercial city here would have been realized far beyond his wildest expectation.

I find I am beginning to speculate and will leave the development of this thought to the pictures and explanations which are to come a little later in the evening. Now to my title deeds.

Lord Baltimore was given a tenure over the land on which the new city was afterward built, which was to all intents and purposes a fee simple title, as we understand it today. He had the land to dispose of at will, holding it in the language of the charter, in free and common soccage by fealty only, and not by knight service, returning to the King of England only as a rental an Indian arrow of these parts, "to be delivered at our castle of Windsor every year on Tuesday in Easter-week." He had many other rights, privileges and emoluments granted by the same charter and it

would be curious and interesting to trace their influence to the present day. For example, in Frederick County, there is still a manor picnic on one of the old sub-infeudations that seems to me to be a survival of the manorial court leet which was the successor of the view of frank pledges, one of the oldest institutions of our Anglo-Saxon agreement to live peaceably together for the common good.

Our concern for the moment is, however, with land titles and we find in Lord Baltimore, under the grant from the Crown, the ultimate source of title.

The proprietor reserving the best of the manors, undertook to create a value for the whole by encouraging immigration. To each person who should come as a master planter, fifty acres for each person in the plantation, to be held on an annual quitclaim rent of one shilling sterling silver for the first seven years; then three shillings a year for fourteen years; then twenty shillings or a twentieth part of the profits.

So the planters came and took up from time to time the lands which they dignified with such names as Knave's Disappointment, Conjuror's Defeat, Poor Tom's Last Shift and others which we are accustomed to pass over somewhat gingerly in our more refined habits of speech.

Now these records are at Annapolis in the Land Commissioner's Office. The proprietary had two land offices, one for the eastern and one for the western shore of the bay, but the records have been consolidated. There was a Commissioner in each case, sundry deputies and the authorized surveyors. Disputes went before the Chancellor. The patents themselves are filed under the patent names, by counties, not altogether clearly, owing to duplication and confusion of names. The papers are, of course, tender, and there

is opportunity for restoration and careful arrangement and indexing. The present indexes are alphabetical lists of patents.

Contests, conflicts and incidental business are recorded in the chancery books, and back references to patents may be found in the records of deeds, some at Upper Marlboro and some at Annapolis, as deeds could be recorded, under the old Maryland law, either in the county in which the land was situated, or in the records of the general court at Annapolis.

Now comes the Revolution, when all that fair revenue of the Baltimores, then the Hartfords, was swept away. Also grantees who were British subjects lost their holdings and the Chancellor was busy selling forfeited estates. There is an old ship captain in Scotland who has a patent on the now Capitol Hill. A relative here, a good revolutionist, is, as the Scotch captain understands, to bid it in. He finds out afterward that the relative means to keep it himself. The Scotch captain's complaint to the Commissioners about the transaction is on file in the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds, apparently no action taken.

And so we come to 1791 with the title of the land on which the original city of Washington now stands in the following condition: There were nineteen persons who purported to be the owners each of a considerable tract, and I suppose altogether a hundred who had or were entitled to deeds to lots in the two town sites, Hamburgh and Carrollsburg. The names of most of the nineteen will be familiar to you—Robert Peter, the Davidsons, Samuel and John; Samuel Blodget, Benjamin Stoddert, Daniel Carroll of Duddington, the Youngs, Abraham, William and Notley; William Prout, who purchased from Jonathan Slater and agreed to the latter's transactions with the trustees.

I have not enumerated all the proprietors, and there is an interesting research awaiting someone with time and patience to check up the attempts which have been made to define the lines of the holdings of each. The transfer of title from each of these tract holders was made in accordance with the plan devised at the meeting held with Washington, in Georgetown. Each of the owners of tracts executed a deed of trust to Jno. Mackall Gantt and Thomas Beall, son of George, for the disposition of the land in the site of the Federal city and the land records of the District were begun after the appointment of Gantt as recorder was enrolled, by recording these deeds of trust in the form in which they may now be found in Liber A of the Office of the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia.

Details of the preliminary negotiations, with a draft of the deed of trust, and letters discussing the provisions of the deed may be found in the letters of the Commissioners in the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds on the fourth floor of the Lemon Building. Four years ago these letters were tied up in parcels and were rapidly being rendered illegible by handling. They have since been repaired, mounted by edge strips in strong manila backing, and bound in volumes, the whole placed in fireproof steel cases. They are in a building by no means fireproof, but a change in their location may be made in the future.

It was, of course, impracticable to gather all the lot holders of Carrollsburg and Hamburg for a similar agreement and action was taken under provisions of a special law. Hamburg or Funkstown was, as you know, on the river front west of Seventeenth Street. It was laid out by Jacob Funk, a decidedly active real estate speculator, who also promoted a town near Frederick, Md., and who had, prior to 1791, removed

to Kentucky, leaving Benj. Stoddert and William Deakins as his attorneys to make deeds for the lots which had been disposed of by lottery.

Carrollsbury was a family affair of the Carrolls and a good many of the lots were in the family; others were held by persons who were presumably family friends. The names of the Hamburg lot owners, on the contrary, show that the land had been disposed of to new immigrants.

All of these names and the disposition made of the lots is shown by a neatly-made book in the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds, giving not only the names of lot owners, and disposition of lots, but the location of the original river shore, a matter of considerable interest, owing to its present obliteration.

We have, now, approximately all the lands in the city in the hands of the two trustees to be disposed of according to the terms of the trust and the provisions of law. What followed is set forth in the papers and documents in three offices. In the Office of the Surveyor of the District of Columbia is a set of books which contain more fully than elsewhere the record of the division of the building squares between the original proprietors and the public. There is also in this office a book containing the original returns of the dimensions of the squares which were originally made on slips of paper. These have been pasted into a scrap book and represent the foundation of the survey of the city which is in use to the present time.

There is a similar set of books in the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds, not quite so complete as to facts relating to the division of lots, but containing information as to the subsequent sale of those which fell to the public. A detailed statement of the division, however, is contained in three account books, also in

the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds, in which a stated account is kept with each original proprietor. Credit is given in each instance for one-half of the area owned by a proprietor in the square and a debit is made of the amount of land assigned him. Several of the accounts were never balanced, but it does not appear that the United States suffered in the division.

Following the division, the United States found itself owner by gift of the streets, with a considerable number of spaces included within street and avenue intersections and of a large number of building lots. It had also acquired the original large reservations by purchase, crediting the proprietor on his account, at the rate of twenty-five pounds per acre, and also charging him at the same rate when he took more than his moiety of land to save his houses and other improvements. It is interesting to note, by the way, that the change from pounds to dollars was made during the first years of the city. The accounts in the first ledger are computed in pounds and in the second in dollars, at the rate of \$2.66 to the pound.

The records of the sales of lots which followed the division are in the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds and in the Office of the Recorder of Deeds. The latter may be dismissed in a sentence. There were formal deeds given in only a few instances. In most cases the transfer of title is evidenced by a short certificate signed by two Commissioners, stating that the grantee had purchased a lot or lots, that he had fully satisfied the purchase price and interest, and that he was entitled to a conveyance in fee. This, when duly recorded, was a valid transfer under the Maryland law.

But the records of the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds are much more extensive. They consist of

the minutes of the Commissioners' meetings, the account books showing not only the sales but the expenses of the new city, and besides these, the letters to which I have referred. I have spent a good many interesting hours over them, and although I had only a single and direct object of search, the incidental lights which they throw on the building of the new city make me certain that they constitute a most attractive hunting ground and that time and patience would obtain from these records a complete reconstruction of every step in the building of Washington, that the whole story is there and that there is hardly a page or a paper that does not contain, if rightly read and understood, some interesting fact connected with the founding of the city.

The history of the records of the city of Washington is that of most of our American records. They have been used for the purpose of the moment without thought of perpetuation. In addition, as I have indicated, they are scattered and are still in use as current documents. The patents at Annapolis are a source of revenue to the land commissioner's office through fees charged for certified copies and probably cannot be removed to this jurisdiction. Certified copies of the books containing records of certificates in the office of the Recorder of Deeds could be made and the originals removed to a Hall of Records. The same is true of the books and maps in the office of the Surveyor and the originals should be consolidated with the collection in the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds and the whole thoroughly indexed, and for a large part, copied and printed.

In my work in connection with these records, I have done what I could in the direction of perpetuation, but my work has touched but a single aspect of the very

fascinating study of the history of the founding of the Federal capital and has been an investigation rather than a study.

The summary I have given of the course of title to lands in the original city of Washington has kept me closely to the offices of record. I ought, however, to impress on your minds the fact that I do not wish to seem to minimize the material in the Library of Congress. You will find in the manuscript division, under the charge of Mr. Hunt, and in the division of maps and charts, under the charge of Mr. Phillips, perhaps more in volume and possibly more in historical value than at the sources I have mentioned. All things considered, I think it may be said that the records of the city of Washington are as records go, in an unusually favorable condition. There is, however, one conspicuous gap. The minutes of the meetings of the Commissioners are missing for a period which would represent about one volume. These records were formerly in the basement room of the Capitol. They were tumbled about and badly used. Some of the official records have come ~~back~~ from private hands through the Library of Congress and have been restored to the main collection in the office of Public Buildings and Grounds. I trust that some day I may hear that the missing volume of Commissioners' Minutes has been restored to its proper place and that I may have the pleasure of following their transactions through the period which I have been able to bridge, only imperfectly, by the use of other data.

THE RELATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA TO THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

By HON. WILLIAM PATTERSON BORLAND, M. C.

(Read before the Society, February 17, 1914.)

I have reason to appreciate the compliment which you have paid me in inviting me to appear before this body and to address you upon this subject. The subject is one of vital interest to the people of the District and inseparably connected with its history. It is one upon which even a corn-field Congressman may be expected to have some knowledge and some views. He voices to a certain extent the opinions of those outside the District of Columbia representing the great body of the nation at large. We Americans have great faith in the virtues of free and public discussion, and doubtless the people of the District will have a clearer appreciation of the attitude of Congress, and Congress a clearer appreciation of the attitude of the people of the District, if a frank examination into their relations can be had.

I do not intend to discuss the intimate personal or local history of the District, nor to catalogue the various acts of Congress relating thereto, nor to present to you tedious statistics. I hope to take briefly a broad glance at the situation.

The District of Columbia exists by virtue of the provision of the Federal Constitution giving Congress exclusive jurisdiction over a district not exceeding ten miles square which shall be ceded to the United States for the purpose of the seat of Government. The reason for this provision of the Federal Constitution is found in the early history of the Continental Congress

and of Congress under the Articles of Confederation. The Federal Government, in its infancy and in its feebleness, found itself unable to command respect, maintain dignity, or even to protect its own peace and safety if required to meet in a city in some one of the States where the public authority and the maintenance of public order were entirely under the control of the local sovereignty. This was the compelling cause of the creation and establishment of the District of Columbia. It was desired that Congress should have exclusive jurisdiction over sufficient territory to establish in peace, dignity and safety the national capital and to protect the administration of the national power and the sessions of the National Legislature. Washington is not only primarily a national capital, it is exclusively a national capital. It belongs to the people of the nation. It has been determined that no government can exist in the District of Columbia, no matter what its form may be, which is independent of the Federal Government. The District of Columbia is not, never has been, and never can be an organized political entity like a State, nor even a corporate political entity like a municipality, with power to deal on a contractual basis with the Federal Government. I say this because it seems to be fashionable in discussing the affairs of the District to use the term "Organic Act" in referring to the act of 1878, and to talk of a solemn contract as though some contractual relations existed between two relatively equal bodies which could not be violated or altered without the consent of both. The reference to any particular act of Congress creating or altering its relations to the District of Columbia as an organic act in the sense that word is used in creating a new entity in the system of States, is a legal absurdity. Congress is charged not only with the right but with the duty to

deal with the District from time to time as altered conditions may justify. It is absurd to talk of an act as though it were irrevocable, and beyond the power of amendment; or as though it were a contract based upon some form of valuable consideration. The only restriction upon the power of Congress to deal with the District is that it shall not invade private property rights except within the well-defined limitations of the exercise of the police and taxing power. Congress can exercise all of the usual powers of taxation over the District which are exercised by states through their municipalities or otherwise, over the property of private citizens. Congress has not relinquished, waived nor bargained away any portion of its taxing power, and it has no moral right to exempt private property in the District either real or personal, from the operation of laws imposing taxes which are usual and necessary in other portions of the United States.

Prior to 1874 the District enjoyed a territorial form of government with a species of local autonomy. In 1874 this local government broke down. The policemen, firemen, and city employees were unpaid. The credit of the District was entirely exhausted, and at the same time the tax burden was very grievous. The physical appearance of Washington at that time must have been ludicrous, if we believe the account of Louisa M. Alcott. She described in detail the pigs she met on Pennsylvania Avenue, and their individual traits and habits. I suppose the cows still fed in Lafayette Square at that time. The debt which had been incurred for public improvements was enormous compared with the population of the city, and any tangible results were scarcely apparent. Various reasons were given for this humiliating condition. It is said that the great number of ex-slaves who poured into Washington dur-

ing and following the Civil War, demoralized the local government and introduced an element of ignorance and corruption which made home-rule impossible. This may be partially true, but the demoralizing effects of the Civil War were by no means confined to Washington. Hundreds of municipalities and scores of States were struggling with the unusual burdens and revolutionary changes of that period and they were required to meet their problems unaided by the Federal Government. The truth is that all of the large cities of the country were suffering from the era of extravagance and corruption which followed the Civil War. New York had its "Tweed ring" which saddled it with an enormous public debt. Many of the cities throughout the country were burdened with public obligations recklessly imposed upon the people without adequate return. Private property was everywhere confiscated by the tax burdens to meet these obligations. Many of the cities were utterly unable to refund their public indebtedness at any rate of interest, and public securities were considerably below par. Some American municipalities actually went out of existence as a means of avoiding the weight of obligations which were wholly political, and largely fraudulent. Washington, however, was fortunate in being the national capital. It was imperative that a city government be maintained here of the best type, and that it be done without the confiscation of private property. Law, order, and the usual functions of the local government must be carried on and paid for. Washington must not be permitted to suffer from the sins of its political rulers, or even from its own sins, although other American municipalities could hope for no special relief. In 1874 the District was put into the hands of the receivers, and its affairs were straightened out by Congress. The

Federal Government contributed by special appropriations as much as was needed to keep the District Government running, and even to provide for the interest on the public debt. The act of 1878 establishing a permanent government for the District of Columbia proved to be a wonderful blessing to the District. Its liberality to the District is doubtless due to the utter financial and political prostration in which the District was then found. It is the wildest dream of the imagination to call it a solemn contract as though it were a contract between two independent and competent parties. It imposed then, and imposes now, no obligations upon the Federal Government beyond the obligation contained in the Federal Constitution to provide a seat of government for the Federal power. The false note in all of this recent discussion has been to treat the interest of the property owners of the District as something entirely apart from the rights of other American citizens. The District was not created and is not governed in the interest of those who choose to buy real estate here.

The act of 1878 relieved the District from its embarrassments and removed a great load from private property. It prevented the confiscation of property by excessive taxation. It relieved the people of the District from the results of mismanagement. It refunded the public debt at the rate of 3.65 per cent interest. At that time no state or municipality in the Union could refund its public debt for less than six per cent, and in most cases on account of the sale of the bonds below par they were paying from eight per cent to ten per cent. For more than thirty years the District has enjoyed this low rate of interest. This would be a remarkable benefit even if the District had to pay all of the principal and interest, which is no more than

all other American municipalities were compelled to do with indebtedness of this character. This result was achieved by placing the credit of the United States behind the bonds. It is now claimed that the United States not only guaranteed the bonds but jointly agreed to pay them. If the technicalities are with the District in this matter, the people of the United States must submit, whatever may be the moral aspect of the question. The act of 1878 not only saved the District at the time, but has made possible its continuous growth and improvement. It has made it truly a national capital. Congress has paid fifty per cent of the running expenses of the District, and in addition thereto it has spent a large amount of money in improving the District in various ways, which is not charged against the District. These improvements are of a class that other cities would have to pay for themselves, or look to the generosity of some patriotic citizen. The most striking of these is the park system. Congress has done so much for the District in addition to its contribution of one-half of the running expenses, that it may be truly said that we found Washington of mud, and left it of marble.

The act of 1878 provides that taxation in the District should be limited to fifteen mills on all of the real property and upon all personal property not taxable elsewhere. This is a very moderate rate of taxation. It must be remembered that this rate covers all of the taxation paid by a property owner in the District. It includes what in other States throughout the Union would be divided into several additional assessments. It includes not only the general expenses of the District government, but the school taxes, street improvements, special assessments, road taxes, etc. While in the other municipalities an additional tax for the support of the county and State is assessed.

The rate of assessment in the District of Columbia is 66 2-3 per cent of the cash value. In other cities the rate of assessment runs from 33 1-3 to 100 per cent so that it requires some care to compare the tax rate in the District with the tax rate elsewhere, and it is very easy to make misleading figures. The statistics are available in a speech of Judge Prouty of Iowa in Congress, and therefore I will not repeat them. It is sufficient to say that the cost of government per capita is higher than in any other city except New York and Boston, while the rate of taxation per dollar on property in the District is the lowest of any municipality of 100,000 people or over, and the per capita wealth in Washington is the greatest of any city on the globe. Fifteen mills is the average taxation in American cities for city purposes alone, but this does not include such taxes as the school tax, and special improvements such as street paving, and frequently does not include park taxes. In addition to this the property owner in the average American city must pay county taxes and State taxes. The aggregate which he pays runs from thirty to fifty mills on the dollar. If the assessment of property were only half the assessment of property in the District of Columbia he would in that case pay more taxes, but the assessment probably averages very close to the assessment of the District of Columbia.

Property in the District of Columbia is not over-taxed. I may illustrate by a comparison with my own city of Kansas City, Missouri. That city raises approximately \$6,000,000 for city purposes including the general fund, schools, and public improvements, and it raises about \$3,000,000 more for county and State purposes. Thus the city, which is fairly moderate in its tax rate, has constructed one of the most beautiful park systems in the world, raises \$9,000,000 from 250,-

000 people, while the city of Washington raises about \$7,000,000 from 350,000 people. In that city the special improvements such as street paving are paid for by the abutting property owners, and this is an almost universal rule in American cities. The Supreme Court of the United States has declared that these improvements are special benefits which are not properly included in the general term "taxes."

The Act of 1878 provided that there should be levied in the District of Columbia a tax of fifteen mills on all real estate and all personal property not taxed elsewhere. It does not seem to be generally understood by the people of Washington that this act has been violated for thirty years in the interest of a privileged class. In the act of Congress providing the machinery for the assessment of personal property in the District the words in the act of 1878 were changed by the addition of the word "tangible" before the words "personal property." I would not undertake to say how this word "tangible" crept into the law. The result is that there is no legal machinery in the District for the taxation of intangible personal property, such as stocks, bonds and investment securities generally. A merchant pays on his stock of goods because that is tangible, but the banker or the owner of invested capital pays nothing on his securities. There is no inheritance tax in the District of Columbia, although such a tax exists very generally in the American States. The low rate of fifteen mills, the exemption of intangible personal property and the absence of an inheritance tax have resulted in bringing to the District of Columbia a large number of invested fortunes representing wealth which was not created in the District but which was created in some one of the several States. The owner of one of these invested fortunes who thus with-

draws his wealth from the State which produced it, and where it can be subject to taxation, practically escapes taxation on it by becoming nominally a legal resident of the District of Columbia. The State from which he withdrew the fortune is doubly wronged, for it not only loses that taxable wealth but it continues to pay full quota of the expense of the District of Columbia for the protection and enjoyment of the owner of the fortune. In my judgment this condition of affairs is morally and economically wrong. The fact that Washington is the National Capital is no reason for providing tax exemptions in favor of those citizens who can remove their wealth here. Property in the District of Columbia should be assessed and taxed upon an equal and just basis in comparison with property in other American cities. Of all localities in the country the National Capital should be the last place where invested wealth can escape its just charge of public burdens. An experience on the District of Columbia Committee, and a subsequent service on the Appropriations Committee of the House, has led me to believe that to bring the taxes within the District to a just level with taxes outside of the District, it is necessary, first, to segregate public improvements from the general fund, and tax them upon the abutting property owner. Second, to provide for the taxation of intangible wealth on the same basis as tangible property. Third, to provide for an inheritance tax. All of these reforms will meet with bitter opposition from certain elements in the District, but no reform is ever popular, and no tax was ever received with enthusiasm. If these reforms are accomplished, the District instead of raising \$7,000,000 annually will raise \$11,000,000.

The plan of paying one-half of the District expenses out of the Federal Treasury and one-half out of the

District revenues is responsible for keeping static these abuses of the taxing system. In practice the plan is that every dollar raised in the District shall be matched with a dollar out of the Federal treasury. If the untaxed wealth in the District were subject to taxation and the revenues of the District correspondingly increased, the charge upon the Federal treasury would also be increased. As long as the \$7,000,000 raised from small house owners and business men, supplemented by an equal amount from the Federal treasury, is ample for the District expenses, no serious attempt is made to tax the exempt classes. As soon as a serious attempt is made, it will reveal that the half-and-half plan has long since performed its function, and is becoming an increasing burden to the Federal Government, and a temptation to extravagance. Hence the sacredness of the half-and-half plan is the citadel of privileged wealth. It is sometimes urged in justification of the half-and-half principle, that the Federal Government owns half of the real estate in the District. So far as I can find this was never true. When the boundaries of Washington extended only to Florida Avenue it may have been possible to make such a showing by charging to the Federal Government all of the area of streets, squares, parks and other land used for city purposes, as well as that used for Federal purposes. My best information is that the Federal Government actually occupies for Federal purposes less than one hundred acres in the District of Columbia. It has the title to a great deal of land like the big parks and the tiny parks at the intersection of avenues, which it has acquired for the beautification of the city, and which it holds, not as a private land owner, but as trustee for the public. Most of the avenues shown on the map as of exceptional width are not so in fact, the

surplus width being actually fenced into the front yards of the adjoining proprietors. I believe that all of the public land in the District will total less than twenty per cent of the area of the District.

The half-and-half plan should be modified by providing that a fair tax be levied upon all private property in the District at approximately the same rate that such property would bear in other American cities; and that the Federal Government should contribute, either on the basis of its holdings as a private land owner, or on the basis of the increased burdens, if any, which it places on the District to maintain a higher standard of government than would be necessary in other cities.

Much has been said about making Washington a beautiful city, and the appeal to the Nation at large is always on this basis, but it is utterly impossible to show any connection between these tax exemptions and the beautification of Washington. Washington has been beautified by Congress, and will continue to be so beautified without expense to the property owners, and thus Washington enjoys an advantage which no other city can possibly enjoy. It is more than probable that the liberality of Congress has discouraged rather than encouraged the growth of the spirit of public enterprise in the District.

The present plan of the City of Washington follows, in a general way, the plans of Major L'Enfant which were made out at the instance of President Washington. As far as they have been adhered to they have resulted in a very beautiful city, although beauty was not the primary reason for such plans. The first element to be considered in a national capital is not beauty, but strength and defensibility. In this respect Washington is woefully deficient. Twice in our national history we have found that Washington was

utterly incapable of defense from a military standpoint. In 1814 the disaster really happened; in 1864 it was only threatened. However, the National Capital is here, and whether it be defensible or not, it has around about it the powerful arms of Uncle Sam, and the whole nation must stand or fall with the Capital. The Capital cannot protect the country, nor be the last citadel of its strength as is the case in most powerful nations, but the country can and will protect the Capital in any case of risk. The plans of Major L'Enfant contemplated that Washington should be laid out on a very generous scale. The usual number of streets were provided for, but of a width which was then thought unusual. In addition to the usual streets were the avenues running diagonally across the city which were all of unusual width. At the crossing of these avenues were arranged circles and squares. At a glance it would appear that this was a plan merely to beautify the city, and a design to create a large amount of public grounds and open space within the District. We know, however, that this was not the primary object. The idea was adapted from Paris, and is a very useful and effective way of guarding against a sudden rising of the populace, accompanied by rioting and mob violence, which so frequently disturbs capitals and threatens the government. Napoleon conceived the idea that if a sufficient number of circles and squares, connected by broad avenues, could be dispersed throughout the City of Paris, he could plant artillery at the circles and sweep any one of the radiating avenues clear of a mob in a very few moments. The most striking example of this idea is La Place d'Etoile in Paris, which, taking advantage of a little knoll is surrounded by radiating boulevards like the spokes of a wheel. From this commanding point of Paris, all that

side of the Seine can be held in order by a minimum number of men and guns. Fortunately we have never been called upon to put this idea to a test in Washington. The plan remains with us as one of those happy accidents which produce beauty, and which are the despair of the artist who labors so hard with line, scale and rule, to accomplish in the creation of artistic beauty that which is so frequently done without his aid or even knowledge. It took Washington three-fourths of a century to grow into L'Enfant's plan, but what is three-fourths of a century in the life of a nation? It is well for us that the plan was comprehensive enough at the beginning. About a decade ago it was assumed that an improvement could be made upon L'Enfant's plan, and a committee of artists was set to work on a plan for the beautification of Washington. This has resulted in some fragmentary good. It has resulted in the permanent reclamation of the unsightly swamp near the Potomac Drive. It may further result in the grouping of public buildings in some artistic and imposing way. As far as I can discover, however, it has utterly neglected the possibilities of beauty in other locations of the District. It did not take advantage, as it might have, of the beautiful circle of hills surrounding Washington, and the wonderful valleys behind them. It provided no circling boulevards adapted to the topography of the country, opening up the more remote sections of the District for future development. It is not for me as a mere layman and an untutored barbarian, to criticise a plan gotten up by a committee who admit themselves to be fine artists. It is my misfortune, however, to grasp only the art which links itself to nature, and smell with a rather keen nose the midnight oil which betrays the laborous efforts of the literary hack, or the artistic hack, to grasp only the

conventionalities of others. However, we should all be gratified, though we may differ as to details, that Washington is rapidly becoming the most beautiful capital in the world, and the only danger that we have of mar-
ring its beauty is in overloading it with too many statues and monuments, many of which we may eventually destroy. In the brief time of six years that I have served in Congress, eleven statues or monuments, or an average of two a year, have been constructed. This is going fast enough, it seems to me, for a capital which we hope will endure for several hundred years at least.

The obligations of the Federal Government towards the National Capital do not stop with a mere reform in its financial relations. It should be the aim of Congress, with the coöperation of the people of the District, to build here, not only the most beautiful but the most progressive city in the country. Living conditions in Washington should reflect the high type of the American ideal of city life. A city is both a home and a workshop. In most of the American cities the workshop idea predominates because their very existence as cities depends upon their industry and commercial operations. In Washington the home idea predominates. The great population of Washington is dependent upon the existence here of the seat of the government. The largest employer of labor in the District is Uncle Sam and even the commercial and financial interests here are dependent upon the business created by the sessions of Congress and the employés of the Federal Government. Washington is not a manufacturing city and never will be. It is entirely unlikely that Congress would encourage or even tolerate the creation of manufacturing districts in the District of Columbia, with the massing of industrial population, the danger of strikes,

boycotts, lockouts, the fluctuation in the labor market caused by recurring trade depressions, and all of the problems which arise in an industrial center. No one but a few real estate agents could possibly profit by the establishment of manufacturing industries in the District. In all other respects it would be a distinct and irreparable disadvantage. On the other hand, Washington will be not only the National Capital and the center of its political life, but in many respects the center of its artistic, literary, and scientific life. It will always be a great educational center, and will be the greatest convention city of the United States. We are on the eve of a new awakening of the civic consciousness all over our land. Cities which have boasted only of their material wealth, and their pagan appeals to the senses, are beginning to have a soul. This soul of the city is a realization of the demands of social justice. The humblest worker in the city is entitled to decent conditions for home and family life. He is not only entitled to them, but through the inscrutable justice of Providence we realize that he will either get them, or inflict the penalty upon the city at large. Slum politics have never plundered Washington as they have other cities, but slum conditions exist here because they are a by-product of American civilization. A city cannot be made exclusively of boulevards, parks, grand opera houses and public buildings. Washington should not only be known throughout the world as the city beautiful, but as the city with a soul. This is a type of civic effort in which the good people of Washington can command the enthusiastic support of the Nation. Many other American cities are far in advance of Washington in grasping this problem, although they have greater burdens to carry and greater problems to solve.

The time has come for constructive legislation for the City of Washington. Not constructive in the mere sense of expending Federal money wisely or unwisely in the purchase of property or the erection of public buildings, but constructive in the sense of establishing a rule of social justice which will bring the city organism to its highest development. In my view the first step in this direction is a reform in the tax laws by which special privilege should be abolished, and all tax payers made to stand on an equal footing. Second, the abolishment of the alley slums with their danger of physical and moral contamination. Third, the re-housing of the former slum dwellers in sanitary quarters. Fourth, the physical appearance of all parts of the District should be improved, including the reclamation of the Anacostia flats, the bed of Rock Creek, and other abandoned spots. Both banks of the Potomac should again be in the control of the District by a recession of the Virginia shore. Fifth, a control of the public utilities of the District. There should be universal transfers between the street car lines, and better car service. The price of gas in the District is now eighty-five cents, while in Indianapolis, Ind., it is sixty cents, and in many other American cities it ranges from seventy cents to seventy-five cents. Electric current in the District is selling at ten cents per kilowatt, and the greatest natural hydro-electric power in the world lies at the very door of the District, without being used. As fast as these public utilities come under public ownership they should be put upon a business basis so that they will pay, not only their running expenses, but the sinking fund represented by the investment. Sixth, the schools should be made social centers, especially in view of the fact that the plain citizens of Washington have no other common meeting point. All of the

schools should be modernized on the Gary plan. They should be made not only centers of instruction for the children, but for the adults as well. They should combine manual training, public baths, public playgrounds, physical and public recreation, day nursery and library features. They should be open every night either for public discussion or amusement, and available for any legitimate meeting, either political, civic or social. In offering recreation of this kind they should lead to a higher standard of citizenship by putting low class and doubtful places of amusement out of business.

Seventh, if I may borrow again an illustration from my own city of Kansas City, Washington should have a Board of Public Welfare to look after the condition of its police court, its juvenile court, public dances, cafés and other places of resort, and expending its activity in helpful ways for the young citizens, especially the inexperienced boys and girls who may drift into the dangerous environments of a big city. Kansas City, under the direction of its Welfare Board, even conducts a Free Legal Aid Bureau for poor women and laboring men who cannot afford to go to law to secure their rights. It conducts a Municipal Loan Bureau which has almost solved the loan-shark evil. These are some of the constructive measures which ought to find their highest development in the Nation's Capital so that life here would not only be more beautiful but purer and cleaner than ever before in the world's history. Before we had gotten very far on such a program as this, Washington would not only be known as the most beautiful city, but as the city with a soul.

OLD HOMES ON GEORGETOWN HEIGHTS.

BY WILLIAM A. GORDON.

(Read before the Society, March 17, 1914.)

I have been requested to say something about "Georgetown Mansions"; but as it is not possible to refer to all which are of historic interest I will confine myself to an account of some of the homes which were located on what was known as "Georgetown Heights." Before doing so I will ask you to bear with me while I speak for a few minutes about the old town.

Georgetown has been my home since my birth, and many things about it in the years gone by have made indelible impressions upon my memory. The river filled with vessels, and wharves piled high with hogsheads of sugar and molasses; the long lines of wagons drawn by bell-bowed teams and filled with produce from Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania; the shrill cries of the rough and profane fishwomen; the cheery song of the cartmen and draymen; the glare of the iron furnaces and hum of the sawmills; the pungent smell of bark and tanneries; the dust of the flour mills and cotton factories; the shops of the cabinet makers with their stores of foreign woods, of the curriers with their marble slabe and glittering knives; and of the millwrights with their keen edged broadaxes. Nearly all the trades which flourished when I was a boy, and gave employment to numbers of intelligent, industrious and self-respecting mechanics, have disappeared, and machinery instead of men does the work. No doubt it is all for the best; but it is hard for old men to recognize such to be the case.

Georgetown was a typical Southern town, with negroes forming a large part of the population. Slavery existed, a mild kind of domestic servitude, with ties of sympathy and affection binding master and servant. It is a pleasure to recall the manners and customs, the pleasures and sorrows of those simple dependent child-like people. The system (in my belief a greater injury to the master than to the slave) has gone, and with it those manners and customs and, what is unfortunate, the kindly feeling which existed between the races.

The history of Georgetown from the time it was founded by the Assembly of the Province of Maryland until it ceased to exist as a separate city, extending over a period of more than a hundred and twenty years, is most honorable, and if worthily recorded would make interesting reading. It was the home of an enterprising and self-reliant people, whose civic pride was highly developed and whose love for the town inspired every action. While the social line was strictly drawn, a kindly feeling and common bond of sympathy drew all classes close together. The men chosen to preside over its welfare were of a high order, and proved ever true to its material interests. Its clergy, such as Balch, Neale, McIlvane, were the equals in culture, eloquence and piety of those in any part of the country; its physicians, such as Worthington, Schaff, Bohrer, Riley, Tyler, Magruder; its lawyers and jurists, such as Key, Gantt, Morsell, the Coxes, Dunlop, Ould and Caperton, stood at the head of their professions; its great merchants, like the Lairds, Smiths and Dodges, reached out to the Orient, the Mediterranean, South America and the Islands of the Sea, and bringing back their prized products, distributed them not only through the neighboring States, but sent them over rivers, mountains and prairies as far as the Great

Lakes. It was the training place of financiers, like Peabody, Corcoran and the Riggs, and its money went out lavishly in opening roads into the surrounding country, in building bridges, contributing to the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and erecting causeways and other works in aid of navigation and business; and during the trying days of 1814 in assisting the Government by loans to the amount of about a million dollars, part of which in coin was sent overland in wagons to pay the veterans of Jackson's victorious Army at New Orleans. Its educators, such as Carneghan, McVean, Abbot and English, drew pupils from all parts of the country. Within its borders were established the first Protestant and Catholic churches of the District, the first Jesuit College and first Visitation Convent and Academy in the United States, and in the Lancasterian school the first efforts towards the public school system.

Here gathered the frontier Colonists who went out to oppose the Indian invader, and the British soldiers and sailors who marched with Braddock to meet their fate at Fort Duquesne; here the Committee of Safety refused to permit taxed tea to be landed and forced its return to England; here during the Revolution were shops for the manufacture of guns, ammunition and munitions of war, and warehouses where army supplies of all kinds were stored; here the Continental Army crossed on its march south to face and overcome Cornwallis; and here were cast the cannon used in the wars of 1812 and with Mexico.

After the Revolutionary War it became the home of many distinguished in camp and cabinet; and when the location of the Federal Capital was being considered none were more active in urging the claims of the head of tide water on the Potomac than its intelligent and influential citizens. Later, when the foundations of this

beautiful city were being laid deep and strong, it was the frequent meeting place of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, L'Enfant and Elliott.

Many things have happened and many changes taken place. With the coming of railways its commerce, which had rivaled that of Baltimore and caused many to believe it would be greater than the Maryland metropolis, disappeared; and at last, after having retained it for more than one hundred and forty-four years, the name of the town was lost by absorption into that of the Capital City, to be thought of by few, mentioned often with a shrug of the shoulders, and to a great extent neglected by those in authority. The old name is still cherished by those living west of Rock Creek, and regret lingers that the names of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Lafayette, Lingan, Stoddert, Dumbarton, Beall, Montgomery and Green have been taken from the streets, and numbers and letters substituted.

My excuse for taking so much of your time before speaking of "Old Mansions" is that I wished you to know something of what the old town was in the days of long ago.

No more desirable location for a town could have been selected. On the south flowed the Potomac, with deep channels on both sides of the Analostan Island. The water as Captain John Smith wrote in 1607 "exceedeth with abundance of fish, more plentiful nor more variety of small fish, had any of us ever seen in one place swimming in the water." And where William Wirt, in his recollections when a school boy during the Revolution, said that canvas-back ducks were so plentiful that they whitened the water and when they rose produced a sound like thunder. On the east was Rock Creek, a deep navigable stream with mouth extending

from Observatory Hill to Wisconsin Avenue. The hills were covered with magnificent forests; and as described by Captain Henry Fleete in 1632 "was the most pleasant place in all the country, convenient for habitation, the air temperate in summer and not violent in winter, with soil exceedingly fertile." Even now, though so many changes have taken place, we can well imagine how beautiful the surroundings must have been.

The larger part of the "Heights" and much of the eastern portion of Georgetown are located within a large tract of land, which under the name of the "Rock of Dumbarton" was patented by the Province of Maryland in 1703 to Colonel Ninian Beall, the worthy to whom the memorial tablet in Saint John's (Georgetown) churchyard was recently erected.

The country at the junction of the Potomac and Rock Creek had been settled soon after the founding of the colony. Scharf in his *Western Maryland* saying, "It is probable that the first settlement in what was afterwards known as Frederick was in the neighborhood of Georgetown, which was for a long time the chief mart and only seaport of the country." When the Maryland Act of 1751 creating George-Town was enacted there was a tobacco warehouse and considerable settlement at that point, and when under its provisions a part of the "Rock of Dumbarton" was taken by condemnation the owner, Colonel George Beall, youngest son and devisee under will of Ninian, was highly indignant and in vigorous language protested, concluding with "If I can have the rights of a British subject I ask no more. God save King George." Though then so loyal to the king, he proved a brave and steadfast patriot when Independence was declared.

From time to time there is speculation in regard to the name of the town, and it is even stated that it was named from George Washington. As he was only nineteen years of age at the time the town was founded it is evident that it was not named for him. Some have thought it was in honor of King George; but there is nothing of record to sustain this. It is more probable that "George" was selected because the town was located upon the land of George Beall and George Gordon, both of whose names are mentioned in the Legislative Act. Until long after it became a part of the District of Columbia, the name was written with a hyphen connecting the words "George" and "Town," both beginning with capital letters.

By the will of George Beall that part of the "Rock of Dumbarton" lying south of the first branch north of the town was devised to his son Thomas, known as "Thomas Beall of George." Owing to the failure of the will to pass title in fee, this valuable tract would have been lost to Thomas but for the generosity of his eldest brother who had inherited under the law of primogeniture then in force.

Georgetown was not a "boom town," the law providing that owners who failed to improve their lots with substantial buildings within a specific time should lose them. As population increased rapidly, additions to the original town became necessary; and Thomas Beall subdivided his part of the "Rock of Dumbarton" and made two additions, the first in 1783 and the second, which included the squares on the south side of R Street in 1785. These squares extended along the northern border of the town limits, which was fixed by Congress in 1809 in the center of R Street, where boundary stones were planted and remained for many years known as "corporation stones." It was evi-

dently the desire of Beall that these squares north of Q Street should be the sites for homes of a superior character and of more than usual commodiousness, and with that object in view he did not divide them into lots as he did the other squares. In aid of his intention in this regard Congress in 1809, when it vested the authorities of the town with the right to open streets through private property by condemnation, provided that no streets should be opened through any of these squares without the written consent of the owner duly certified and acknowledged.

On account of the beauty and healthfulness of the location certain of the leading citizens of the town urged that the Federal Capital be located in the neighborhood, the memorial stating that "in point of healthiness, goodness of air and water, considerations of so much weight, there are few spots in the United States which can boast any advantages over the one now in contemplation; and it is conceived that the hilliness of the country, far from being an objection, will be thought a desirable circumstance, as it will at once contribute to the beauty, health and security of a city intended for the seat of empire." At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century the "Heights" were sought as the place of residence and became the home of a refined, cultivated, brave and hospitable people. This is alluded to in the Georgetown Museum of January 9, 1809, in the following grandiloquent though somewhat confused language: "The elevated heights surrounding the town afford situations for gentlemen's seats, which for extent and grandeur of prospect is not exceeded in America, and in some of these we already see rising to the view the elegant mansions of the opulent citizens. The variagated view exhibited from these eminences including Georgetown, the City of Washington, the

Potomac and its banks beautiful beyond compare. In short we know of no place more eligible than Georgetown as a residence, whether the elegance and substantial comforts of life, added to the charms of polished society be inducements to the wealthy, or the golden rewards of industry be the object of the enterprising."

In considering the old homes the starting point will be the Lane opening into R Street. This Lane known at different times as "Parrott's Lane," "Boyce Lane," and for years past as "Lovers' Lane," was opened in 1800 as far north as the Branch. In 1833 it was extended by the court on petition of owners of outlying properties, under provisions of the old Maryland law providing "for roadways from farms and plantations to places of public worship, mills, market places, public ferries and court houses." Leading as it does from the "Heights" to the romantic country bordering on Rock Creek it is perhaps more frequently used and better known than any suburban road in the District.

West of the Lane and extending westerly on the north side of R Street almost to Wisconsin Avenue and north to the Branch is the property known as "The Oaks," which was conveyed to William H. Dorsey in 1800. He was the first judge of our Orphans' Court, having been appointed in 1801 by Thomas Jefferson. He built the original mansion and held it until 1805 when he sold to Robert Beverly of Essex County, Virginia. Mr. Beverly was the great-grandson of Robert Beverly the historian whose "Present state of Virginia, including an account of the first settlement of Virginia and the history of its government at this time" was published in 1705. He married Jane Tayloe of the distinguished family of "Mount Airy," and sister of Colonel John Tayloe who built the "Octagon House." In 1822 he gave the place to his son James B.

Beverly, who had married a daughter of David Peter of "Peter's Grove." The following year he sold it to James E. Calhoun, of South Carolina, and it became the home of his distinguished brother, John C. Calhoun. Whilst residing there the latter was Secretary of War and Vice-President, and it was here he studied the political questions of the day, for he says, referring to the office of Vice-President, that: "The station, from its leisure, gave me a good opportunity to study the fundamental questions of the day, called then the American System, from which I profited." In 1828 it became the property of Brooke Mackall, and in 1846 of Edward M. Linthicum. In the early days it was known as "Acrolophos" (Grove on the Hill), a most appropriate name, being on the highest point of the crest of the hill. Mr. Linthicum was a prominent and prosperous merchant of the highest type, a man of great civic virtue, and deeply interested in everything which tended to benefit the community. In his will he provided for the endowment of a school for the free education of "white boys of Georgetown in useful learning and in the spirit and practice of Christian virtue," being, as he expressed it, "convinced that knowledge and piety constitute the only assurance of happiness and healthful progress to the human race, and devoutly recognizing the solemn duty to society which devolves on its members, and entertaining a serious desire to contribute in some manner to the permanent welfare of the community amongst whom my life has been spent." As a commentary on the length to which partisan feeling went in the years succeeding the War between the States, it may be stated that efforts to have the Linthicum Institute incorporated by Congress were prevented by Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, for the reason that the benefit was confined to white youths.

The house, which has been changed but not improved in appearance by the addition of a mansard roof and other alterations, was a large two-story brick, with hall, wide enough for a hay wagon to pass through, running from front to rear, on either side of which were great parlors beautifully proportioned, covering with the hall the entire ground floor. The east parlor opened into a bright sunny dining room, which in turn looked out upon a well filled greenhouse. With flower gardens on the east, wooded lawn in front, grove of forest trees on the west, and gently sloping well sodded hills in the rear, all of which were kept in perfect order during the life of Mr. Linthicum, "The Oaks" was the show place of the District.

North of the Branch is "Clifton," for many years the home of Charles Ellet, the distinguished engineer. In 1842 he planned and built the first wire suspension bridge over the Schuylkill at Philadelphia, and in 1847 designed and built the railroad suspension bridge at Niagara below the Falls. He was also a writer, and his "Physical Geography of the Mississippi Valley, with suggestions as to the improvement of the Ohio and other rivers," which was published by the Smithsonian Institution, was considered one of the most noteworthy productions of the day. During the War between the States he converted a number of high draught steamers on the Mississippi into rams, with which he disabled and sank several Confederate vessels, thereby assisting materially in opening the river to the Federal fleets. In the naval attack on Memphis he received wounds from which he died.

The property opposite the western part of "The Oaks" was sold in 1796 to Thomas Sim Lee, the distinguished Maryland patriot, and was well known as "Lee's Hill." After his services as revolutionary

governor he removed in 1793 to the western part of the State though he passed his winters in Georgetown. It was his intention to build a permanent home on this commanding site, but the death of his wife soon after changed his plans. I mention the above simply for the purpose of showing the class of people who then selected Georgetown Heights as homes.

The entire square east of "Lee's Hill," bounded by Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Q and R Streets, was "Tudor Place," which was purchased from Beall in 1794 by Francis Loundes, one of the merchants whose shipments of tobacco made the town an active commercial center. In 1805 he sold to Thomas Peter, son of Robert Peter, Mayor of Georgetown from 1789 to 1798 and one of the original proprietors of part of the land on which the Federal Capital was located, whose wife was Martha Parke Custis, daughter of John Parke Custis, and the granddaughter of Martha Washington.

Whether the erection of the stately old residence, which was designed by Mr. Thornton, architect of the Capitol, was commenced by Loundes is uncertain, though it is known that the wings were first built and dwelt in by the Peters, and that the bequest made to Mrs. Peter in the will of General Washington was used upon the central building. The title was placed in George Washington Parke Custis in trust for Mrs. Peter, and finally became vested in her daughter, Britannia Wellington Kennon, by deed from Robert E. Lee and Mary Custis his wife, the only child of George Washington Parke Custis.

General Washington was much attached to Martha Peter, and when business connected with laying out the Federal City brought him from Mount Vernon was accustomed to stay with her, his last visit to the District being to her house. When the Government was

removed from Philadelphia the home of the Peters, was the resort of the most distinguished—residents and visitors. In 1825 Lafayette dined at Tudor Place, on which occasion one of the daughters of the house, America, met her husband, William George Williams, who had shortly before graduated at West Point, and who as Chief of Engineers of General Zachary Taylor's Army was killed at the Battle of Monteray. In 1842 another daughter, Britannia Wellington, was married to Commodore Beverly Kennon, whose tragic death by the explosion on the Princeton, a little more than a year later, left her a widow with one child—a daughter. From her birth to her death, ninety-six years, Tudor Place was the home of Mrs. Kennon, for more than fifty of which she presided as its mistress. Her courtly manners, innate dignity and gentleness, wide-spread charities and Christian virtues, made her a distinguished example of the old time Georgetownians. The "Tudor Place" residence is today as originally built. The entrance to the main building from the north is into a hallway, beyond which three large parlors opening into each other extend to the southern front, whilst beyond these in the wings are the dining room, library, offices and conservatory. There is a reposeful beauty about these various rooms which never fails to impress the visitor. Outside on the south the lawn broken by groups of trees extends to Q Street, and to the north the old-fashioned garden with its great box-woods formerly ran to an oak grove along R Street. There is about the whole place an air of dignity and unity of design seen in no other of the old places in the District.

The western part of the square to the east of "Tudor Place" was conveyed by Thomas Beall in 1805 to Harriet, wife of Elisha O. Williams, she having received

it as part of the estate of her father, Brooke Beall, to whom it had been sold but not conveyed. Both Mr. and Mrs. Williams were descended from members of the Convention of 1776, which adopted the Declaration of Rights and severed the connection between Maryland and the Mother Country,—Elisha Williams being the ancestor of one and Samuel Beall of the other. Left a widow about six months after acquiring the property, Mrs. Williams built a home for her infant children, and some thirty years later settled the entire northern part upon her son Brooke Williams and Rebecca his wife. Mrs. Rebecca Williams was a beautiful woman, and all her children inherited her grace and beauty of person. The marriage of her young daughter Harriet to the aged Russian Minister Bodisco, when the popular idol Henry Clay gave away the bride, has been the theme of many romantic stories. Some years after the death of Mr. Bodisco she married Colonel Douglass Gordon Scott, of the British Army, and passed much of her time in India, though returning often to her old home. The Williams' residence, though not as large as some on the Heights, was a commodious double brick with wings to the west, which without architectural pretensions, was rendered dignified by the noble oaks on either side of the entrance. Within it was most attractive, the spacious parlor on the east, which opened into a conservatory filled with blooming plants, being adorned with pictures, of which the central attraction was a life-sized portrait of Mrs. Bodisco, taken in the gorgeous robes of state she wore on the occasion of her presentation to the Emperor of Russia.

The eastern part of the square, adjoining the Williams' and containing about eight and one-half acres, was "Peter's Grove," which was conveyed by Beall to William Craik in 1798. He was the son of Doctor

James Craik, who accompanied Washington on the Braddock expedition and was with him during the entire Revolutionary War, and who at the request of his chief made his home near Mount Vernon and attended him during his last illness. Washington in his will mentioned him as "my compatriot in arms and intimate friend Dr. Craik." The wife of James Craik was the daughter of Colonel William Fitzhugh, of "Ravensworth," Fairfax County, Virginia, and sister of Mrs. George Washington Parke Custis, the mother of Mrs. Robert E. Lee. The evident intention was to make this spot their home, but Mrs. Craik died and her husband followed soon after. In 1808 it was sold to David Peter, another son of Robert Peter, who built the beautiful and stately mansion, which surrounded by giant oaks for so many years, graced the extensive and beautifully laid-out grounds. After the death of Mr. Peter it was sold in the thirties to Colonel John Carter, a wealthy and distinguished South Carolinian, who represented the State in Congress and had married Eleanor Marbury, daughter of one of the old families of the town, and became known as "Carolina Place." After the death of Colonel Carter it was the home of first the English and then the French Minister. The residence having been burned, it was in 1867 sold to Henry D. Cooke by John Carter O'Neal, of the Inniskillen Dragoons, son of Anne, only daughter of John Carter, who had married an English gentleman. Mr. Cooke planned the erection of a palatial residence, which was prevented by the failure of the firm of Jay Cook & Co.

The square to the east, between Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Streets, was the home of Colonel George Corbin Washington, great-nephew, and at the time of his death in 1854, the nearest relative of General

George Washington. He was one of the presidents of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, for many years a Representative in Congress from the adjoining Maryland District, and a prominent candidate for the Vice-Presidency at the time Winfield Scott was nominated for President. The property belonged to his first wife Elizabeth, to whom it had been devised by her father Thomas Beall of George. On her death it went to her only son, Lewis W. Washington, the same who was captured and held as a hostage by John Brown, at Harper's Ferry. Colonel Washington's second wife was Ann Thomas Peter, a descendant of Ninian Beall, and sister of John Peter, Mayor of the town from 1813 to 1818. Both wives were descendants of the Rev. John Orme, a distinguished clergyman of Maryland in Colonial days.

Shortly after the death of Colonel Washington the square was sold to and became the home of Jesse D. Bright, Senator from Indiana, who during the War between the States was deprived of his seat in the Senate on account of his sympathy with the South. The dwelling, which is on the crest of the hill near the corner of R Street, though much changed, still stands. It was a large two-storied double brick with entrance from the north, wide hall and spacious rooms, and uninterrupted view from the southern front.

The square east of the Washington Place has always been known as "Mackall Square," and was purchased in 1805 by Christiana Mackall, daughter of Brooke Beall, with money received from his estate. Her husband, Benjamin Mackall, was the son of Benjamin Mackall, a wealthy planter of Calvert County, Maryland, member of the Convention of 1776 and chairman of the Committee of Safety. In 1838 Mrs. Mackall conveyed the square to her son Louis, who made it his

home until his death in 1876. Dr. Mackall, who had graduated in medicine at the University of Maryland in 1824, after practicing his profession for a number of years, retired and devoted himself to literary pursuits. He was a great student and a man of much culture, his published works, especially those upon philosophical and scientific subjects, showing research and ability of a high order. Until within the past few years the property has been the home and in possession of the family. The dwelling house was a large double brick, without architectural beauty, but commodious and well built. With its out-buildings it remains as originally built in the middle of the square.

To the east of Twenty-eight Street, extending southerly from Q to P Street and easterly to Mill Street, is "Bellevue." The eastern part passed from Beall to Peter Casenave in 1796 and included a large tract south of P Street, which had not then been opened so far to the east. Between then and 1805, when sold to Joseph Nourse, it passed through several hands. It went to Nourse through a chancery suit instituted by the United States against the several parties who held under Casenave. The fact that the dwelling house had been erected shortly before the year 1802 appears in the proceedings, which are interesting as showing that the real owner from whom Nourse purchased was the United States, the conveyance from the trustee in chancery having been to Gabriel Duvall, then Comptroller of the Treasury and afterwards for twenty-five years a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Duvall immediately conveyed to Nourse, and all payments of purchase money were made into the Treasury. A few years later Nourse purchased the Western part from Beall, making the tract as it existed until a comparatively short time ago. It is more than

probable that the row of Lombardy poplars along Twenty-eighth Street front, which by their size and beauty formed one of the great attractions of the town, was planted during the ownership of Nourse.

Joseph Nourse was born in London in 1754, came to Virginia when a lad, served in the Revolutionary Army, was secretary to General Charles Lee, and later auditor of the Board of War. When the organization under the Constitution was made, he became Register of the Treasury, coming to the District when the seat of government was removed from Philadelphia, and serving in that position from 1789 to 1829.

In 1813 the entire tract was sold by Nourse to Charles Carroll, of Bellevue, nephew of Daniel Carroll, the Federal Commissioner, and brother of Daniel Carroll of Duddington. The fact that he and his brother had shortly before purchased the paper mill on Rock Creek just below "Bellevue" may have been the inducement for making it his home. A few years later he removed to Livingston County, New York, where he died in 1824. In the deed to him he is styled "Charles Carroll of Bellevue," and so signed himself in his will. As he had not used the designation prior to acquiring the property, it would seem that he adopted it at that time. Since then the place has been known as "Bellevue."

For a number of years prior to the death of Charles Carroll it was the home of Samuel Whitall and his wife Lydia Newbold, and in 1841 it was conveyed by the executors of Carroll for the use of Mrs. Whitall, and continued to be the home of the family until within a few years back. Mr. Whitall was a distinguished-looking old gentleman, and was accustomed to drive around in a high two-wheeled gig, the last of the kind in this neighborhood. Probably there never were more

beautifully proportioned rooms in this part of the country than those on the ground floor of the "Bellevue" house,—the parlor on the west adorned with paintings from Italy, and the reception room adjoining with its rounded northern end, being particularly attractive. It is one of the most beautiful specimens of the architecture of the early part of the nineteenth century now remaining in the District, and it is a pleasure to know that when Q Street is extended through the property it will be moved back and remain one of the ornaments of the town.

North of "Bellevue" and extending northerly to Rock Creek and easterly to Mill Street was "Evermay." The northern part is now Oak Hill Cemetery, and although the southern part has been built upon, the old house on the crest of the hill surrounded by its grounds remains as of old. This was the home of Samuel Davidson, who purchased from Beall, part in 1794 and part in 1804. He was one of the original proprietors of the Federal City, the President's House and Lafayette Park being on the land owned by him. A most eccentric man, he lived the life of a hermit, using every precaution to prevent intrusion upon his privacy. He died childless, and by his will devised the property to his nephew Lewis Grant on condition that he take the name of Davidson, which provision was complied with under authority of an act of Congress in 1811, and thereafter the family was known as Grant Davidson, though the hyphen was not used. For many years it was the home of Lewis Grant Davidson and Eliza Crawford his wife, and later by their daughter, Mrs. Charles Dodge.

"Evermay" in its entirety was very beautiful: the large extent of woodland, the green hillsides, the terraces with hazel hedges (the delight of the boys who

were permitted to gather nuts in the fall), being fit settings for the spacious old mansion. The lower part of the grounds bordering on Rock Creek was especially attractive, a wall some eight or ten feet in height having been erected, along the base of which flowed the waters of the stream, while within was a broad roadway shaded with forest trees.

Along the north line of R Street is "Oak Hill Cemetery," the portion of which extending easterly from a point a short distance east of the chapel having been a part of "Evermay." The western portion is the only place on the Heights not disposed of by Thomas Beall for residential purposes. By his will it was devised to his daughter Elizabeth Washington, and was in 1848 conveyed by her son and heir to William W. Corcoran, who in 1848 conveyed it to the Cemetery Company whose charter had just been granted by Congress. Mr. Corcoran not only gave this lovely burial place for the people of Georgetown (his birth place), but expended over one hundred thousand dollars in its beautification, and provided in its charter that it should "be forever inalienable." Though never owned by Parrott, it was known to the old residents as "Parrott's Woods," probably because together with the land on the west owned by him it constituted for many years an unenclosed, undivided woodland. As "Parrott's Woods" it was the chosen spot for patriotic meetings of Georgetownians, the use going back at least as far as 1812. Many have been the addresses made beneath its spreading trees by popular orators, budding lawyers and youthful graduates, and many the bountiful feast spread before the delighted listeners. On these occasions the whole town turned out, and men, women and children mingled in kindly association.

Within "Oak Hill" repose the remains of most of the former owners of the places mentioned, and in nearly every case their resting places are in the extreme northwestern section, overlooking Rock Creek, the beautiful stream they loved so well.

The last place to be mentioned is "Montrose," which lies west of "Oak Hill" and east of Lovers' Lane. It became the property of Richard Parrott by three conveyances between 1804 and 1813. In one of the deeds the dam over the creek afterwards known as Lyon's Dam is mentioned, showing it was built over one hundred years ago. During the ownership of Parrott he used the level path along the side of the woods as a rope walk, rope being then in great demand for the numerous vessels visiting the port, and by the name "The Rope Walk" it was known to subsequent owners. In deeds as early as 1817 not only the rope walk but the gardens are mentioned, and from constant reference in subsequent deeds to gardens they must have been show places for many years. In 1822 Parrott died, designating himself in his will as "of Elderslie adjoining Georgetown"; so it is probable that the place formerly bore the name of "Elderslie." His estate was much involved, and the property with the exception of the woodland on the east was sold under decree in chancery to Clement Smith in 1822. Mr. Smith was one of the most prominent citizens of the town, having been the president of the Farmers and Mechanics Bank for many years. In 1837 it was sold to Mary McEwen Boyce, and ten years later her husband, William M. Boyce, became the owner of the woodland. It remained in the family until purchased by the United States for a park and is known as "Montrose." Captain Boyce was a graduate of West Point in 1828 and became a captain, resigning in 1836

to become Chief of the Geodetic Survey. In 1840 the families of "Tudor Place" and "Montrose" were united by the marriage of George Washington Peter, son of Martha Peter, to Jane Boyce, sister of Captain William M. Boyce. Captain Boyce died in 1856 of wounds received in a railroad accident in which his daughter was killed. Mrs. Boyce made it her home until her death. During the many years it was occupied by the Boyce family it was an ideal home, the spacious residence of the style of over a hundred years ago affording ample room for the gracious hospitality so liberally dispensed.

"Montrose" was secured as a park through the untiring work of the women of Georgetown, who though for years unsuccessful never relaxed their efforts until at last the reward came and it was purchased. It is beautiful in its location, its level plateaus and gently sloping hills, its grass and shrubs and glorious forest trees; and it is the heart-felt wish of those who know it best and love it most that whilst it be cared for and its natural beauties developed it will never be converted from what it now is into a formal artificial park. Whilst the smooth lawns and old-fashioned box-edged gardens will please, the greatest attraction will be the woodland, with its ancient oaks, hickories and birches, some of which were probably standing when Captain John Smith sailed up the Potomac in 1608; beautiful in spring when the buds burst forth and the new leaves mingle their tender greens, beautiful in summer when clothed in full foliage, beautiful in autumn when clad in vivid scarlets and sober browns, and if possible more beautiful when rising from the snow-clad ground they stretch their naked limbs to the wintry sky. Beneath them the loving kindness of the Creator will be

recognized, and purer thoughts may arise from nature to nature's God.

The **owners** of the places mentioned were not men of wealth in the present acceptation of the word; but they were men of birth, education, high character and influence for good in the community and their wives and daughters were women of charming personality and greatest refinement. Together with their near neighbors, they constituted a society sought by the most cultivated and distinguished in the public and private life of the Capital.

Familiar with the Heights since boyhood, having passed many happy hours in the homes and personally known many of those mentioned, it has been a special pleasure to speak of them. Possibly some day when you walk over the Heights and through the old-fashioned gardens and under the trees of the park you may recall the memory and in imagination enjoy the company of those high-minded, high-spirited gentlemen and lovely and gracious ladies.

In conclusion, paraphrasing Kipling, I will say: "Let those who have listened to the end, pardon a hundred blemishes."

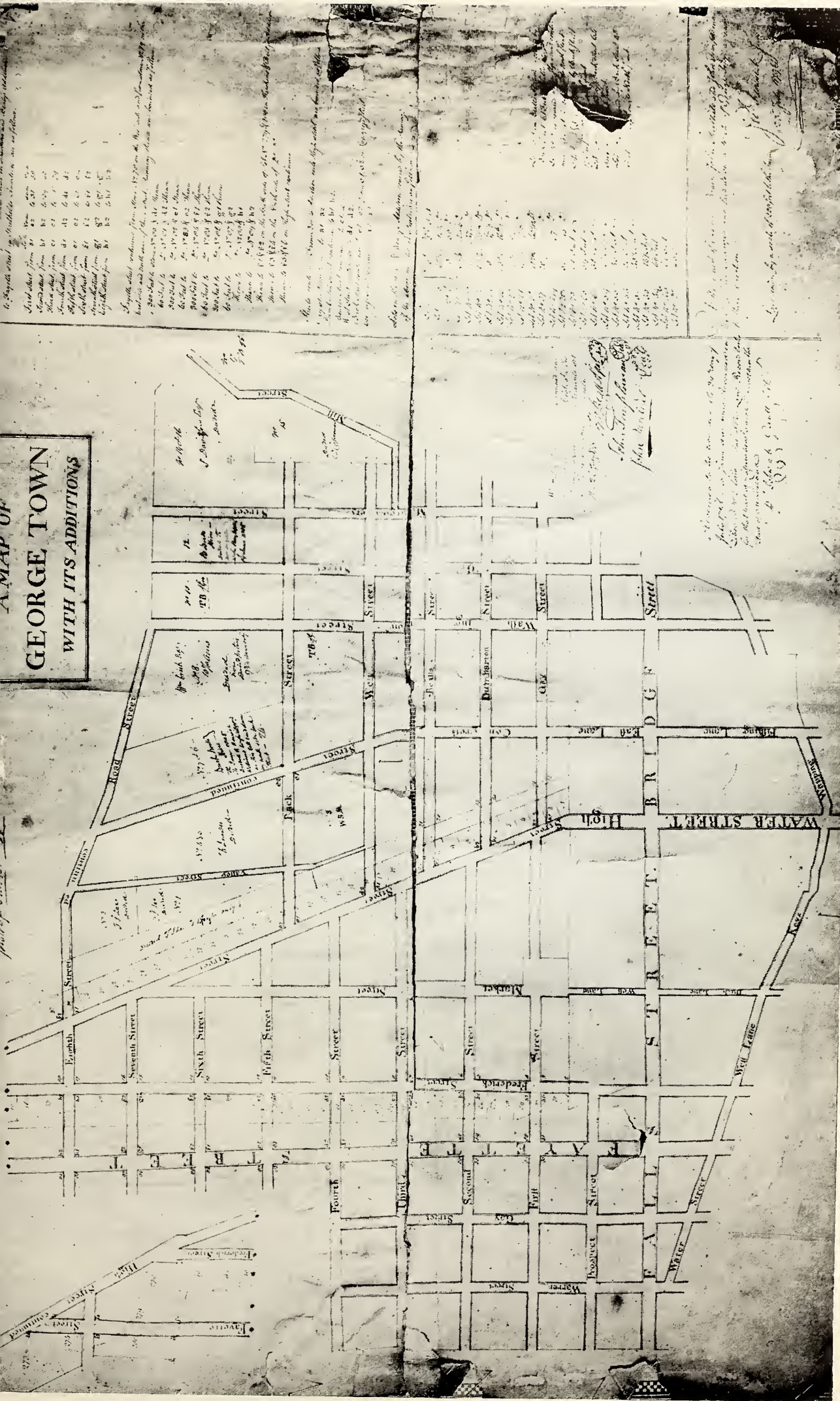
MACKALL SQUARE.

BY MISS SALLY SOMERVELL MACKALL.

(Read before the Society, March 17, 1914.)

Mackall Square on Georgetown Heights was the first place to be called a square in the District of Columbia, and was deeded to Colonel Benjamin Mackall and Christiana Beall his wife in 1805, by Mrs. Mackall's father, Colonel Brooke Beall, whose wife was Margaret Johns, a descendant of Sir Arthur Johns of Bristol, England. Richard Johns of the Clifts was born in Bristol, England, in 1650 and was the first of the family to come to America. He settled at the Clifts in Calvert County, Maryland in 1719. His wife was Elizabeth Kinsey. Colonel Benjamin Mackall was a member of the Maryland Convention which assembled at Annapolis June 22nd, 1774, which adopted the Bill of Rights, the Constitution of the States, and its form of government, and instructed the Maryland Delegation in the Continental Congress to sign the Declaration of Independence. He was selected by the Convention of 1776 to take command of the regiment of militia from Calvert County, Maryland, and afterwards General Washington appointed him Lieutenant Commander, and also chairman of the Committee of Safety and Observation. He raised eight battalions of regular troops, the quota assigned to Maryland by the Continental Congress, and imported the necessary arms and ammunition at his own expense. For this he never recieved any remuneration from the Government. Some years ago General William P. Craighill, of recent fame, whose residence was in Charlestown, Virginia, sent me a list of names of

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Map of





men who served in the American Revolution. The writing is in Colonel Mackall's own hand, very distinct and clear, though yellow from age. These papers were among Judge James S. Morsell's effects. The Judge resided in Georgetown for many years, and his daughter married General Chaighill. It was very evident that Colonel Mackall had been trying to recover the money from the Government, the bill failing to pass both Houses of Congress during the same session. Across the road from Mackall Square was the old home of the Boyce family, now known as "Montrose Park," which derived its name from Grahame the Earl of Montrose, of Scotland, from whom the Boyce family are descended. The Boyces are related to the Mackall family through marriage with the Grahames. When Dr. Louis Mackall, the second, married Margaret Whann McVean, Mrs. Boyce gave them a beautiful reception at "Montrose." I have in my possession an old map of Georgetown, giving the dimensions of the different squares, and names of those persons owning property on the Heights of Georgetown in 1796, and was recorded the 29th day of July, in *Liber B*, No. 2 folio, one of the land record books for that part of the District of Columbia which was within the State of Maryland. John Mackall Gantt was then Clerk of the Court. When this map was recorded, Q Street was known as Back Street. When the town of Georgetown was laid out, it was decided that no street should extent beyond Back Street; this was changed some years later, and my grandfather Mackall gave to the District the street extending entirely around "Mackall Square." No sooner was this done than the Government proceeded to ruin his place by making deep cuts on either side, and did not think it worth while to give any compensation.

The old map states that at this time "Tudor Place" was owned by the Loundes family, and that T. S. Lee owned the square of land from R Street to Q Street, where the old reservoir stands. The most interesting and historical spot in all Washington is just where the Government is building the new Q Street Bridge. It was in this immediate neighborhood that the tomb of the renowned Commodore Decatur stood, who fell in a duel with Commodore James Barron. Commodore Decatur was one of the country's most illustrious officers and slept for nearly a century on Kalorama Heights. I think Decatur would be a most fitting name for the bridge. The waters of the beautiful winding stream along the banks of Rock Creek just below Kalorama were made famous by the launching of the first steamboat by the Patriot Joel Barlow. This was before Fulton's experiments. Mr. Barlow died December 26th, 1812. The bridge might stand for all time as a monument and be a point of interest to strangers visiting the city.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CABINET MEETING.

BY HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

(Read before the Society, April 21, 1914.)

The Cabinet meeting has always been to contemporaries other than Cabinet members something of a mystery. Rumors as to proceedings and routine, the truth or falsity of which cannot easily be tested, keep in circulation and afford an attractive theme for gossip and guessing. For example, Cabinet days have long been known to be Tuesdays and Fridays. These were taken for granted as such under the present administration until someone ventured the statement during the past autumn that President Wilson had departed from one more precedent by abandoning Cabinet meetings altogether. The gossip-compelling assertion, whatever its source, fell upon listening ears. In the course of time, with an authentic sound as though coming from that center of mystery, the White House, word once more got into print that the President wished it understood that meetings of the Cabinet were being held twice a week with regularity; and moreover that no member of the council absented himself from the meetings, if present in Washington on a Cabinet day, without good reason. This second rumor with reference to the regularity of Cabinet meetings today I have been accidentally able to verify as correct. But it is not my purpose to speak of the stories as to present-day doings or practices in the Cabinet room in the White House, for the onlooker has as a rule no reliable sources of information about the nature of Cabinet meetings.

When in June, 1867, the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives was considering the problem

of impeaching President Johnson, it attempted to pry into the workings of Johnson's Cabinet, summoning most of the members as well as their private secretaries and questioning them closely. Stanton and Seward, according to Gideon Welles's intimate record in his *Diary*,¹

"thought the matter might be got along with by answering pretty fully all questions that were put without any allusion to the fact whether it was or was not a cabinet subject. I doubted [declared Welles] whether it was right to disclose what had occurred in Cabinet to such a committee,—perhaps to any one at present."

The sentiment probably represents an old ideal instinctively adopted by the intimate counsellors of any chief magistrate. Every administration is bound to have and to hold sacred its secrets. It must be admitted, consequently, at the outset that there are grave difficulties ahead of anyone who seeks to penetrate into the Cabinet meeting—at least to one who would get some way under the mere superficial forms and routine of the institution. Nevertheless there is abundant material to be found on the subject, much of which has not been at all carefully explored or studied. Intimate records such as letters, diaries and, occasionally, formal notes of Cabinet proceedings are to be found which help to tell the story of the meetings. Usually brought to light long after the events narrated, they afford belated, though vivid and illuminating transcripts for the historian.

Presidents have very frequently gained great credit for the ideas and efforts of Cabinet members or other assistants. The corollary to this proposition may be stated in the pregnant utterance of an old English

¹III, 102-103 (June 4, 1867).

Jesuit, quoted by Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff in his *Notes from a Diary*:

"It is surprising how much good a man may do in the world if he allows others to take the credit of it."

The corollary may be easily illustrated in our own annals.

Though responsible for the idea of a farewell address, Washington, it is well known, accepted the aid of Hamilton and others in its final formulation in September, 1796. It may be doubted whether today careful students can accept the old view² that President Jefferson was unaided in the matter of the purchase of Louisiana. Gallatin, Levi Lincoln and others helped him in a confusing situation. It has been established satisfactorily that the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, was chiefly responsible for persuading Monroe to adopt in his message of December, 1823, the words that are so well known today as constituting the essence of the so-called Monroe Doctrine.³ Who, it may be asked, were the authors of Jackson's leading state papers—of his messages and, in particular, of his Nullification Proclamation? In truth, it would be really difficult to prove that he wrote any one of them without much assistance. The Tariff Act of 1846, famous as a Democratic measure of far-reaching import, was the work of Polk's Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi. Walker was likewise the creator of the statute in all its essential points which in 1849 established the Secretaryship and Department of the Interior,⁴ for he drew the bill at the request of a committee of Congress. Without detract-

²C. Ellis Stevens, *Sources of the Constitution of the United States* (1894), p. 167, ft. note 2.

³W. C. Ford, *John Quincy Adams: His Connection With the Monroe Doctrine* (1823), Cambridge, 1902.

⁴H. B. Learned, *The President's Cabinet* (1912), pp. 275-287.

ing from Lincoln's fame, one should remember that John Quincy Adams years before the Civil War "blazed the path" to the Proclamation of Emancipation of January 1, 1863.⁵ And there can be no doubt, on the basis of Welles's *Diary* and such portions of Chase's *Diary* as have thus far been printed,⁶ that the final form of the Proclamation was not attained without sundry consultations with his most intimate Cabinet advisers. "President Lincoln," said a writer in the *North American Review* of November, 1880, " . . . seldom or never had any Cabinet meetings." The statement today is reduced to the level of amusing fiction. We now know that George Bancroft, the historian, wrote President Johnson's first annual message of December, 1865.⁷ Seward and Stanton together formulated Johnson's veto message of the Tenure of Office Bill of March, 1867.⁸ Jeremiah S. Black was the author of Johnson's third annual message of December, 1867.⁹ Under date of June 13, 1870, President Grant issued a special message on Cuban affairs, indicating an attitude on the part of the United States of non-intervention. This was strictly the work of Secretary of State Hamilton Fish.¹⁰ Illustrations of the corollary may rest here. It is enough to conclude that most statesmen accomplish their ends by the active coöperation and intimate efforts of many advisers both in and outside the circle of the Cabinet.

I propose to limit this preliminary study of a large and refractory theme chiefly to the records and words

⁵C. F. Adams, *John Quincy Adams and Emancipation under Martial Law* (1819-1842), pp. 71 ff.

⁶*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1902*, Vol. II.

⁷W. A. Dunning in *Amer. Hist. Review* (April, 1906), XI, 574 ff.

⁸*Diary of Gideon Welles* (1911), III, 157-158; see also *Amer. Hist. Review* (October, 1913), p. 110.

⁹W. A. Dunning, *op. cit.*, pp. 587, 592.

¹⁰W. A. Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* (1907), p. 172.

of actual participants in the Cabinet meeting. Presidents and principal officers are alone competent, if they will, to tell at least that portion of the truth about the past which they had opportunity to know and to appreciate. The paper is based upon examination of written records—oftentimes very slight glimpses, it is true—from such men of upwards of 1,100 Cabinet meetings occurring at different periods of our history.

I.

It is fair to remember at the outset that our knowledge of Cabinet affairs since the incoming of Grant's administration in March, 1869, is comparatively slight. Grant adopted Tuesdays and Fridays as regular Cabinet days,¹¹ following the precedent in this respect of both Lincoln and Johnson. From such men as Hon. Hilary A. Herbert, Charles J. Bonaparte, John D. Long, and ex-Presidents Hayes and Harrison (among others) we have gained slight glimpses of Cabinet customs and affairs.¹² But there have not yet appeared in print any really informing records on Cabinet meetings in the shape of day-to-day diaries which would illuminate any portion of the past forty-five years of Cabinet history. The manuscript diary of Hamilton Fish, Grant's able Secretary of State, is in existence and has been consulted occasionally by scholars; and I am informed on good authority, that a member of President Roosevelt's Cabinet from 1905 to 1909 kept a careful record of sundry Cabinet councils. In the

¹¹Welles, *Diary*, III, 547 (March 8, 1869).

¹²Hilary A. Herbert, "Cleveland and His Cabinet at Work," *Century* (March, 1913), 85: 740-744. Charles J. Bonaparte, "Experiences of a Cabinet Officer Under Roosevelt," *Century* (March, 1910), 79: 752-758. John D. Long, "Some Personal Characteristics of President McKinley," *Century* (November, 1901), 63:144 ff. John D. Long, "The American Navy: Some Personal Reminiscences," *The Outlook* (October 3, 1903), 287-295. B. Harrison, *This Country of Ours* (1897), pp. 105-106. C. E. Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 167, note 2.

course of time the historian may hope to have these and similar intimate records at his disposal. But until this time comes, we must rest content with the comparatively abundant resources of the years before 1869. Before turning to some of these earlier resources, I wish briefly to attend to a few matters pertaining to more recent Cabinet meetings.

The Cabinet meetings of President Harrison, held on Tuesdays and Fridays as a rule unless for any reason the President was obliged to be absent, were primarily conferences on national business and were devoted to "matters of importance affecting the general policy of the administration." Departmental matters might be brought forward whenever a principal officer desired a general discussion and opinion; but the rule was to determine all such matters as far as possible outside the council chamber, by conference between the President and the department head. The President was pronounced in his view against regarding a Cabinet officer as a "mere clerk." Notes of Cabinet affairs were rarely taken. Such social intercourse between the members as might be freely and easily indulged in—the give and take of commonplace conversation and gossip—came, if at all, only after the business was over and after the President had departed.¹³

Rather different impressions of President McKinley's council have come from ex-Secretary of the Navy John D. Long. A friendly and affable spirit such as was characteristic of Mr. McKinley pervaded the regular Tuesday-Friday sessions. The Cabinet was, we are assured, "not an over-solemn body." There was no parliamentary procedure "and never a formal vote."

¹³Private letter to the writer, dated March 2, 1911, from Harrison's Secretary of the Interior (1889-1893), Hon. John W. Noble.

"Nobody ever 'addressed the chair' or stood upon his feet. Matters were discussed in a conversational way. When the President had arrived at a result, he nodded to each member in succession, saying 'You agree?' until the last one had assented, and then wound the matter up by saying 'You all agree.' Rarely was there any non-consent. . ."

The meetings were not opened very promptly at 11 o'clock, for anecdotes and gossip, sometimes occupying fifteen or twenty minutes, were very apt to precede the real business of the sessions. When business was begun, the President called upon the principal officers in order of precedence, beginning as a matter of course with the Secretary of State.¹⁴ Considering the enormous business of the departments, it was noticeable, according to Mr. Long, "how comparatively much of it was disposed of by its head at his office and how little was brought up by him for Cabinet consideration."

Most of the members of the Cabinet—the Secretaries of State, John Sherman, William R. Day (later Associate Justice of the Supreme Court) and John Hay; Secretary of the Treasury Lyman J. Gage, Secretary of War Russell H. Alger, the Attorneys-General McKenna, Griggs and Knox; Gary, Postmaster-General, and Bliss, Secretary of the Interior—were usually quickly through their business. But Secretary of War Root (succeeding General Alger) had often many matters to bring forward, for in dealing with the Philippines he had to act "not only as Secretary of War but as Attorney-General and Secretary of State. . . " When Mr. Root's turn came, "it was recognized that there would be little time left for anybody else, especially as he spoke with a trained lawyer's fullness."

¹⁴Although the Postmaster-General was not regularly admitted to the Cabinet circle until 1829, he precedes the Secretary of the Navy in rank.

At length came the turn of the Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson—"Scotch by birth but thoroughly American in every fiber. When Mr. Root finished his docket," remarks Mr. Long, "the time was usually so far exhausted that we at the foot of the table used to suggest merrily that it would be a fair thing to begin, sometimes, at the other end of the line. Still, it often happened that Wilson, whose word of hard common sense always weighed with the President, did get in a sentence or two that went directly to the heart of whatever subject was on tap . . . " As one might suspect, it was John Hay who proved "a delight to the Cabinet Board, full of humor, apt in anecdote, showing in every word and phrase the cultivated scholar without the slightest trace of the pedant."

Such glimpses as these of two recent Cabinets are to be gained by hunting in popular records. They are certainly slight enough and afford hardly anything beyond sketches of routine and impressions of personalities. Yet they will serve the immediate purpose of illustrating the meagerness of our recent knowledge as compared with our knowledge of earlier times.

II.

When we speak of Washington's "Cabinet" what we see, if we stop to visualize its personnel, is the rather formal figure of Washington, grey-haired, tall, even imposing in stature, and four principal officers: Hamilton, the short, youthful-appearing Secretary of the Treasury; Jefferson, thirteen years older than Hamilton, at the head of the State Department; Randolph, the Attorney-General, former Governor of Virginia (like Jefferson) and chief spokesman for his State of Virginia in the Convention that formulated

the Constitution; and General Henry Knox, stout and stocky in figure, good-natured, deferential to his colleagues whom, in many respects, he recognized as intellectually his superiors. The fact that five other men—Timothy Pickering, Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Dr. James McHenry, William Bradford, of Pennsylvania, and Charles Lee—in 1794 and 1795 had taken the places of the first four hardly affects the popular recollection. Inasmuch as there is no clear evidence of any very marked homogeneity between the members of Washington's council and the President by the time, at any rate, that Hamilton resigned in the spring of 1795, there is some reason for the popular view. Hamilton, though youngest member, was distinctly the member on whom Washington put greatest dependence. The President listened carefully to whatever he had to say on many varieties of matters as well as on financial subjects. His written opinions, if not always revealing Jefferson's painstaking care, were sure to be discerning and could be very influential with Washington. Jefferson was enormously industrious and painstaking in the opinions which he wrote; and his letters and notes afford clear evidence of his regard for details. He disliked Hamilton, although he was not at all blind to his abilities and virtues. "Hot-headed, all imagination, no judgment, passionate, disrespectful & even indecent towards the P. in his written as well as verbal communications, talking of appeals from him to Congress, from them to the people, urging the most unreasonable & groundless propositions, & in the most dictatorial style . . ." Thus wrote Jefferson of Hamilton in a mood of irritability. "He renders my position immensely difficult," he added. "He does me justice personally, and, giving him time to vent himself & then cool, I am on a footing to advise him freely, & he re-

spects it, but he breaks out again on the very first occasion. . . ."¹⁵ "I *know*," declared Hamilton confidentially to Washington on September 9, 1792, "that I have been an object of uniform opposition from Mr. Jefferson, from the first moment of his coming to the City of New York to enter upon his present office . . ."¹⁶ Yet Jefferson, at times bitter enough to Hamilton, could thus say to Knox:

"When the hour of dinner is approaching, sometimes it rains, sometimes it is too hot for a long walk, sometimes your business would make you wish to remain longer at your office or return there after dinner, and make it more eligible to take any sort of a dinner in town—any day and every day that this would be the case you would make me supremely happy by messing with me, without ceremony or other question than whether I dine at home. The hour is from one quarter to three quarters after three, and taking your chance as to fare, you will be sure to meet a sincere welcome from

Yours Affectly. & respectfully . . ."¹⁷

Washington began his administration in May, 1789, by conferring with various men in matters of administrative and formal importance: with Madison, Jay, Hamilton, Vice-President Adams, and others. It was not until May, 1790,—a year later—that his four principal officers were together in New York City and consequently so placed as to be summoned readily by the President to a conference or consultation. If "consultations," as such assembled meetings of President and principal officers were at first called, occurred during 1790, they have escaped any record. Written opinions were frequently asked for; and there were

¹⁵Jefferson's *Writings* (ed. P. L. Ford. Federal edition), VII, 436-437. July 7, 1793. The outbreak at this time was due to the "Pacificus" letters of Hamilton.

¹⁶Hamilton's *Works* (Fed. ed. H. C. Lodge), VII, 303 ff.

¹⁷Jefferson MSS. Special Subjects. Library of Congress.

conferences between Washington and this or that official. Probably consultations in council did actually take place as a reasonable mode of expediting matters. But the first explicit record of a consultation that was essentially a "Cabinet" meeting is only found in April, 1791. Jefferson, the Secretary of State, preserved careful details of it, and was present with his colleagues, Hamilton and Knox. Vice-President Adams was likewise at the meeting. The President himself had requested that such a meeting be called in his absence on a tour in the South in case administrative business seemed to warrant it; and he asked that the Vice-President be invited to attend. The meeting was held on Monday, April 11, probably at Jefferson's house, for the gentlemen dined together in the afternoon before settling down to serious work. The Attorney-General, Randolph, was not there.¹⁸ During 1791 and 1792 there are a few rather scanty allusions to or records of similar meetings—about a dozen such glimpses, all told, of as many meetings.

In 1793, the year best remembered by the issuance in April of the Neutrality Proclamation and the unfortunate and troublesome appearance of Genet, meetings of the Cabinet came thick and fast. The very seriousness of the situation probably kept the Cabinet together, for both Hamilton and Jefferson threatened to resign. Washington felt obliged to exact many written opinions from his three leading assistants, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Randolph, and a few such from Knox. At least forty-six Cabinet meetings are noted in different sources as occurring during that year—a conspicuously large number in view of the fact

¹⁸H. B. Learned, *The President's Cabinet*, pp. 123-125. There is not a contemporary word to show that Randolph was present, although Jefferson in 1818 thought that he recalled his presence!

that we have glimpses over the entire eight years of only about sixty-five meetings of the council. The meetings were usually held at the President's house in Philadelphia, at 9 o'clock in the morning. Rarely they were not assembled until 10 o'clock. One meeting—Friday, November 1—was held at Germantown. Now and then the council assembled at the War Office; occasionally at Jefferson's office; and once at the Governor's office in the State House. It is not by any means easy to determine exactly who was present. But one is perfectly safe in concluding that the Cabinet met a good many times by itself to arrange matters that were later on submitted to Washington's determining word.¹⁹ When a meeting was unduly prolonged, as on Friday, November 8, the principal officers dined together and (in this instance) with the President. Meetings were held on any one of the six days of the week, with some apparent tendency toward Mondays and Saturdays, although I have never found evidence of any such rule. There is no record of a council meeting on Sunday during Washington's entire administration.

International affairs and the right method of carrying out the principles of the Neutrality Proclamation, as well as the disposition of sundry prize cases, were before the council through the spring and summer of 1793. Later on, by November, it is clear that the subject of the President's annual message pre-occupied Washington and his principal officers. Jefferson left the administration on December 31. And with his going the council gradually assumed a less interesting aspect, although there must have been numerous consultations over the Jay Treaty at a

¹⁹Such meetings without the President occurred on February 28, May 16, June 1, July 8, July 30, August 3 and 5.

later time, in view of the opposition revealed, in Congress and outside, toward England. Hamilton's influence remained strong over Washington and is particularly notable at the time, in 1796, when he had decided to issue his farewell address. But Jefferson's figure as a statesman disappeared for the time being until it was once more promoted to a rather conspicuous place, that of Vice-President, in 1797.

III.

At this point my materials take me forward to Monroe's peaceful administration, which opened in March, 1817, and lasted until the spring of 1825. James Monroe was not a man to cut a heroic figure during his time; and it is safe to say that the reader of history finds it difficult to recall him. He was fifty-nine years old at the outset of his Presidency. His Cabinet contained men of unusual accomplishments and notable talents. John Quincy Adams, trained as a diplomat, familiar with foreign ways and languages, carefully educated, scholarly, widely read—enough of a lawyer once to have been offered a seat upon the Supreme Court of the United States—high-minded, but not a man of winning ways, was appointed Secretary of State. He accepted the appointment, undertaking his task at the age of fifty—four years older than Jefferson when that statesman had been appointed to the same post by Washington. Calhoun, thirty-five years old in March, 1817, already a political leader familiar from experience with Congressional affairs and of great promise, was the youngest counsellor. He accepted the War portfolio and proved himself, especially in the routine of department work and reorganization, of conspicuous merit. William H. Crawford of Georgia

was Secretary of the Treasury through the eight years. For almost the same length of time William Wirt acted as Attorney-General, succeeding Richard Rush, who was held over a few months from Madison's term. The Navy Secretaryship had three incumbents: B. W. Crowninshield, Smith Thompson, who in 1823 went from the Cabinet to the Supreme Court, and Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey, who was appointed at the age of thirty-six. Both Wirt and Southard were retained by Adams when in 1825 he became President, and served in the Cabinet until 1829, Wirt thus completing a term in the Attorney-Generalship of virtually twelve years.

Monroe had known Madison intimately both in and outside the Cabinet. He admired Jefferson, and kept up a correspondence with the sage of Monticello after his own term as President (in 1817) had begun. Long since Monroe had become reconciled to the memory, once very bitter, of his recall from France by Washington, and was even desirous of modeling his administration on that of the first Virginian President. In fact, rather excessive regard for dignity and form—the essence of the Washington tradition—was characteristic of the Monroe administration. The Cabinet was usually summoned through the Secretary of State at the President's request, notices being issued a day or so in advance of the meeting. Occasionally it assembled, however, the very day circumstances required, without more than verbal orders. Calhoun or Adams or any one of the Secretaries might suggest the desirability of the meeting to the President, and the Cabinet was thereupon assembled. "These Cabinet councils," remarked Adams, "open upon me a new scene and new views of the political world. Here is a play of passions, opinions, and characters different in many respects

from those in which I have been accustomed heretofore to move. There is always slowness, want of decision, and a spirit of procrastination in the President . . .'²⁰ Indeed, Adams's *Memoirs* afford abundant evidence of what may be termed a slow-gaited administration. Returning to his office about 3 o'clock one afternoon in February, 1819, after attending debates in the Senate and House of Representatives, the Secretary of State found a note from the President delivered by a messenger and requesting him to summon the Cabinet at the President's house on that day at 1:30 p. m.²¹ It must have been true of many a meeting which lasted three or four hours that—as Adams pointedly says—"conversation burned out."²²

Adams's *Memoirs*, which constitute a detailed record but now and then reveal weeks and months of omissions, give evidence of about 180 meetings of the Cabinet over Monroe's eight years. Meetings were held with no uniformity, but on any one of the six weekdays. Sunday meetings were occasional, but very unusual. Over the eight years there is a slight preponderance of Tuesday-Friday sessions; but there was no such rule, I think, established. The Cabinet met "at the President's," occasionally in the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, once in Smith Thompson's office (Navy Department). At the close of sessions of Congress, the President and his assistants assembled in the Vice-President's room at the Capitol. Twelve o'clock (noon) or one o'clock was the customary hour of the meetings. They were concluded as a rule by four p. m. Monroe dined in the late afternoon, probably about five o'clock. In the case of a few very pro-

²⁰January 9, 1818. *Memoirs*, IV, 37.

²¹*Memoirs*, IV, 245. February 5, Friday.

²²*Ibid.* IV, 168. Saturday, November 7, 1818.

longed meetings, the Cabinet dined with the President and even discussed business after dinner into the night. In the latter part of July, 1818, the Cabinet met for six consecutive consultations on as many days, Sunday alone interrupting the strict continuity of the sessions. The chief topic was Andrew Jackson and his actions in Florida.²³ There are two meetings that for length deserve especially to be recalled: those of Monday and Tuesday, June 21-22, 1824. The first of these opened at 9:30 a. m. and was concluded about 7 p. m. The second meeting lasted from 8 a. m. to 9:30 p. m. "with the interval of about an hour to dine, which we did at the President's. . . ."²⁴ The case before the council on the two days was that of Ninian Edwards, first Senator from the new State of Illinois and at the time Minister to Mexico, who, on reaching New Orleans on the way there, had been recalled in consequence of charges brought against him by Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury. Edwards had attacked Crawford for the purpose of interfering with Crawford's chances for the Presidency. The attack embittered Crawford and so affected him that the Secretary of the Treasury must have been rather a useless counsellor for the remainder of the administration, for his aspirations brought him into real antagonism with both Calhoun and Adams.^{24a} About this time the *National Intelligencer* was so pronounced in its advocacy of Crawford's ambition that the rest of the Cabinet determined to lend favor to the *National Journal*, for a time well known and edited by Peter Force.

As happened in Washington's time, the Cabinet occasionally met without, or in the absence of, the

²³*Memoirs*, IV, 107-114. July 15-21, 1818.

²⁴*Ibid.* VI, 389 ff.

^{24a}Crawford was present at not a single session of the Cabinet from April to November 10, 1824. *Memoirs*, VI, 426.

President.²⁵ On rare occasions the chairman of a Congressional committee might attend a Cabinet session. But the council's affairs were naturally regarded as essentially private and not to be divulged. On January 5, 1822, Postmaster-General R. J. Meigs was summoned to a Cabinet meeting—the first clear instance of this that I have discovered, for the Postmaster-General was not yet a member by custom of the Cabinet. Careful written queries as in Washington's time were now and then introduced into a Cabinet meeting by President Monroe. If these were constitutional questions, the President at times asked for written opinions from members other than the Attorney-General. Some of these opinions in March, 1820, over the Missouri situation, involving the problem of slavery, were deposited in the Department of State at Monroe's request.²⁶

The years of the administration were sufficiently full of difficulties, both of a domestic and foreign nature, to call into activity the able powers of Monroe's assistants. Adams considered that his two really important contributions to this portion of his time were the treaty with Spain which gave us Florida and his report on weights and measures. He was the author of the Monroe Doctrine. In most respects he was the dominant man in the Cabinet, as he was the oldest and most experienced. Little enough is there in the record of either Crowninshield or Smith Thompson. Southard was an intimate friend of Wirt and appreciated Adams sufficiently to be able to work with him through the

²⁵Wednesday, March 31; Friday, April 2, 1819; Saturday, January 22, 1820.

²⁶For instances of strangers at Cabinet sessions, see *Memoirs* under dates: January 7, 1819; January 5, 1822; May 26, 1824. "Had Congress a Constitutional right to prohibit slavery in a Territory?" was one of the questions on which opinions were written and deposited in the State Department. *Memoirs*, V, 5 ff.

next four years. Calhoun went to the Vice-Presidency in 1825—to reappear many years later as Secretary of State under Tyler.

IV.

Although Monroe tried hard to get a western man into his council, he was unsuccessful. Henry Clay, aged forty-eight when he accepted the headship of the Department of State under Adams in March, 1825, was the first Westerner to enter the Cabinet. Both Wirt, the Attorney-General, and James Barbour, Secretary of War, were his seniors by a few years. Southard, Secretary of the Navy—like Wirt, inherited by Adams from the Monroe Cabinet—was the youngest member, aged thirty-eight. Richard Rush, arriving in mid-summer, assumed the Treasury portfolio, though he would have been glad to exchange it with Southard for that of the Navy. There was one change in the personnel during the four-year term: Barbour was replaced as Secretary of War by Peter B. Porter, of New York, in 1828. The average age of the Cabinet was forty-eight years—compared to forty years, the average of Washington's counsellors. President Adams went so far as to ask Crawford to remain at the head of the Treasury. This Crawford was disinclined to do. Had he succeeded, in accordance with his real desires, in getting Gallatin to accept the place, he would have had two first-rate figures in his council instead of only one.

President Adams's Cabinet met relatively with decidedly less frequency than Monroe's, if the records of the *Memoirs* may be trusted. The President was much inclined to settle as much business as possible in conference with this or that member of the Secretariat alone. The reasons for this conference method were

partly due to the lack of any very moving issues either in domestic or foreign affairs. The Panama Congress was a notable consideration early in the administration, and the Tariff—chiefly in the hands of Congress—was conspicuous from 1827 onwards. Careful attention was given by the council to the annual messages every autumn, and Novembers revealed thirteen—exactly one-fifth of the total meetings recorded: viz., sixty-five. We are left with no precise statements as to the ordinary meeting place, but it is reasonable to assume that the Cabinet met as a rule at the Executive Mansion, except when Adams accompanied his counsellors to the Vice-President's chamber at the Capitol at the close of sessions. The hour of meetings was apt to be one o'clock p. m. and the time of concluding them was five p. m. Evening sessions of the council were rare. Again there is no evidence of regular days; but the Cabinet is not recorded as meeting at all on Sunday. About a fifth of the recorded meetings occurred on Mondays, and the same proportion on Saturdays, but almost as many are found to have occurred on Wednesdays. The President dined about five p. m. and considered the next two hours daily to be relatively leisurely.

Now and then the Cabinet met without the President, on one occasion deliberately asking to be left to itself. It was in November, 1826, when the subject of the message was before them. This is Adams's statement. The Secretariat, he says, asked that—

“the draft of the message when prepared might be sent to the members of the administration, to be considered by them without my being present; that the discussion might be more free than would be respectful in my presence. I said I saw no material objection to this. . .”²⁷

²⁷*Memoirs*, VII, 190-192.

It is rather surprising, in view of Adams's well-known care in the regulations of his own daily existence, to discover that he treated somewhat casually the matter of an occasional council meeting. In February, 1828, definite word of a Cabinet session had gone forth for Friday, the 15th instant, at one o'clock. Finding that Governor Barbour had a wedding that day at his house, the meeting was accordingly postponed to the following day, Saturday. Learning on Saturday morning that, in view of the adjournment of the House of Representatives, the hall of the House was to be used "for the exhibition of the deaf and dumb teachers and pupils," President Adams at noon walked to the Capitol—

"leaving directions at home that if the members of the Administration should come at one, to ask them to wait a short time for my return from the Capitol, and ordered my carriage to be there for me at one."

The exhibition of the deaf and dumb proved so thoroughly absorbing to the President that he remained at the Capitol throughout the three hours of the exercises. Vice-President Calhoun was also there, and Mr. Speaker Stevenson. Both of these gentlemen interrogated the pupils. Then President Adams, as he tells us in all seriousness in his record of the day, asked a few questions:

"I asked Mr. Gallaudet if he could make them [the pupils] understand the difference between irrefragable and incontrovertible. He said he could not immediately discern the distinction between them himself. . . . I desired the question to be put them if they knew the figure over the clock in the hall; but they did not. Afterwards I enquired if they could tell the name of the Muse of History. One of them said he had forgotten it; but the question still did not suggest to him that it was the figure over the clock. . . ."

Soon after this the President named Plato as a subject fit for a brief sketch. He was apparently pleased when a pupil "immediately wrote down a short account of his life, death and writings." When the President reached home Clay, Barbour, and Southard had long since departed. As a sort of consolatory item he remarks that Wirt "came afterwards, and I had a very long conversation with him about the Cherokee Constitution and the Indian titles to lands." The Cabinet was finally assembled on the following Tuesday, February 19, at one o'clock.²⁸ Let us hope that no one was peevish or out of temper with Presidential dilatoriness!

There are several indications that when men absented themselves from Cabinet sessions, they sent excuses or apologized for failures to attend.²⁹ On one occasion Adams declined to allow Wirt to escape from a meeting,³⁰ although it is clear that the Attorneys-General of most of the early Cabinets were much less regular in attendance than the Secretaries. Toward the close of his term Adams felt some lack of harmony in his council. Clay threatened to resign, and Barbour (who was not highly regarded by the President) left the Cabinet. In connection with Barbour's going, it is interesting to discover that Adams yielded to the views of his Cabinet in the matter of Porter's substitution. He would himself have much preferred to appoint a certain John Williams, of Tennessee, to the War Department. But in order, as he says, "to terminate the administration in harmony with itself" he named General Peter Buel Porter, a hero of the War

²⁸*Memoirs*, VII, 434-442 (*passim*).

²⁹*Memoirs*, VI, 54 (November 16, 1825); VII, 444 (February 22, 1828).

³⁰*Ibid.*, VII, 235 (March 6, 1827).

of 1812, once appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army by James Madison.³¹

But Adams was quite able to take a stand independent of most of his Cabinet; and this stand he took in the problem, very embittered in its day, of the successor as Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Army to General Brown, who died on February 24, 1828. The matter was under consideration by the Cabinet for nearly two months. Four candidates for the position were named, everyone of whom had sturdy advocates: Scott, Gaines, Macomb and Harrison. “. . . upon whichever of the four the choice may be fixed,” wrote Adams, “there will be great clamor from the friends of all the others, and from the adversaries of the Administration generally.”³² At the decisive moment a Cabinet council assembled, April 14, 1828 (Monday). The claims of the four candidates were canvassed, “their merits critically scanned, their defects freely noticed, and their comparative pretensions weighed. They so nearly balanced one another that every member of the Administration had much difficulty in coming to a decided preference. Mr. Clay, Governor Barbour, Mr. Southard, and Mr. Wirt finally and somewhat indecisively joined their voices in favor of Scott; Mr. Rush more positively preferring Macomb, with which my own opinion concurred. I attributed the preference of Scott to a feeling of which these gentlemen were probably themselves not conscious—the Virginian sympathy. Mr. Clay had also Western biases inclining him towards Harrison; but he would not allow that Gaines was from Tennessee, or that Tennessee was a Western State. There was not one

³¹*Ibid.*, VIII, 4-5 (May 20, 1828).

³²*Memoirs*, VII, 505.

voice for Gaines. . . .'³³ Adams appointed Macomb. Rush never forgot as long as he lived that he was the single member of the council in accord with the President, and years later—on Tuesday, January 19, 1847—he told Polk, at the moment concerned over a similar problem, the story of this Cabinet meeting and of his share in it.³⁴

President John Quincy Adams went out of office in rather an embittered mood. On Tuesday, March 3, after a busy time at the Capitol, he took leave of all his advisers but Clay. That night at nine o'clock he left the President's house, having already determined with the aid of the advice of his counsellors to have nothing whatever to do with the inauguration ceremonies of his successor, Andrew Jackson. He was the last of six men nurtured in the East and in revolutionary-day surroundings to administer the Presidency. Like his predecessors, he had done much to help establish certain forms in accordance with the Washington tradition which could hardly be forgotten or quite ignored, although men of a different type touched by other ideals were to be in the saddle.

V.

The epoch of James K. Polk was exciting. Questions of expansion and slavery were much discussed along with the military features of the Mexican War. The recent publication of Polk's *Diary*—a work which appeared about sixty years after his untimely death in June, 1849,—is likely to do service in quickening interest in the man; and will, I think, raise him in estimate among historians. For glimpses of nearly 400 Cabinet

³³*Ibid.*, VII, 506-507.

³⁴Polk's *Diary*, II, 342-344.

sessions it is quite a unique record. In fact, it is doubtful if a single meeting of the Cabinet from August 26, 1845, to Sunday, March 4, 1849, went unrecorded in it. There is some entry, however brief, every day that Polk occupied the Executive Mansion from August 26, when the *Diary* was first begun. And a Cabinet session is invariably noted, sometimes with very careful detail.

Polk was forty-nine years old when he came to the Presidency in March, 1845—the youngest incumbent of the great office up to his time. Just before he reached his forty-third birthday (in October, 1901) Theodore Roosevelt fell heir to the same office. Polk was a Tennessee Democrat, friend of Andrew Jackson and a great admirer of Thomas Jefferson. His experience in the national House of Representatives—for a time as Speaker—had been long and honorable, and very industrious. Nominated to the Presidency as a “dark horse” largely because of his pronouncements in favor of a policy of territorial expansion, he and Dallas as Vice-President carried the country by no very substantial popular vote against Clay and Frelinghuysen. Polk’s Cabinet contained three men of large ability: the oldest, William Learned Marcy, a former governor of New York, at the age of fifty-eight accepted the head of the War Department; James Buchanan at the age of fifty-four accepting the State Department, proving very troublesome to Polk because of sundry disagreements and especially because of political ambition to succeed to the Presidency in 1849; and Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury, aged forty-four, five years Polk’s junior. The other members of the Cabinet were George Bancroft of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy, succeeded in 1846 by John Y. Mason of Virginia; Nathan Clifford

of Maine, Attorney-General, who was replaced in that position by Isaac Toucey of Connecticut, and Cave Johnson of Tennessee, Postmaster-General.

One of the most marked features of the term was the intimacy—evident on almost every page of the *Diary*—that was kept up between the President and party leaders in both the House and the Senate. Even the aged Calhoun was admitted early in 1846 to a session of the Cabinet.³⁵ Senator Benton throughout the first two years of the administration was many times in conference with Polk, as was Senator Cass in the latter years. Vice-President Dallas often was consulted by Polk, although there is no evidence that he ever attended a session of the Council. Thomas Ritchie, editor of the *Union*, was carefully consulted on various occasions and allowed presidential secrets to slip into his partisan publication, at times much to President Polk's disgust. We get glimpses of the figure of Andrew Johnson flitting in and out of the Executive Mansion even thus early—distrusted and disliked by Polk. Johnson and his Tennessee colleagues, remarked Polk, "seem to assume to themselves the right to judge of the appointments in Tennessee, and to denounce them among members of Congress and in boarding houses as though they were responsible for them. I think it fortunate," he continues, "that they have now learned that their course has not been unobserved by me."³⁶ Polk went so far as himself to outline an article for Ritchie's *Union* even more than once:

"It is the second or third time since I have been President that I have sketched an article for the paper. I did so in this instance to allay if possible the excitement which I learned the article in yesterday's *Union* had produced. . ."³⁷

³⁵*Diary*, I, 161. January 10.

³⁶*Ibid.*, II, 41. July 21, 1846.

³⁷*Ibid.*, I, 351-352. April 24, 1846.

There were numerous outsiders admitted at odd times to Cabinet sessions, usually for the sake of giving special information either about the progress of the War or other matters nearer home. Among these note may be made of Brigadier-General Kearny³⁸ and Major-General Shields,³⁹ Mayor Seaton of Washington,⁴⁰ Thomas G. Clemson, son-in-law to Calhoun and recently returned from Belgium where he had served as *chargé d'affaires*⁴¹ and Senator Jarnagin and Representative Wheaton as members of the committee on enrolled bills.⁴² Nicholas Trist, clerk in the State Department, was summoned into one session for the sake of translating a Spanish letter.⁴³ Polk's private secretary, J. Knox Walker, was often in the room during Cabinet meetings.⁴⁴

Has there, it may be asked, been any President since 1789 who stuck so steadily to his job as did President Polk? Polk was very particular to indicate to all his advisers at the outset of his term that he expected none of them to leave Washington for slight reasons or for any length of time while they served him. He had decided convictions against the practice of entrusting affairs to chief clerks. As for himself during the entire four-year period, Polk was not outside Washington for more than about six weeks. How many Presidents, it may be asked, have confined themselves to vacations of ten days a year? Polk spent a day at Mt. Vernon in the spring of 1845 (before the *Diary*

³⁸*Diary*. III, 168. September 12, 1847.

³⁹*Ibid.*, III, 261. December 28, 1847.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, IV, 125. September 19, 1848.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, IV, 196. November 14, 1848.

⁴²*Ibid.*, I, 47, 51. July 25, 1846.

⁴³*Ibid.*, II, 432. March 20, 1847.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, II, 486. April 22, 1847. ". . . my Private Secretary is often in the room when the Cabinet is in session and he is the only person except the Cabinet who is so."

opens);⁴⁵ late in August, 1846, for about a week he was at Old Point Comfort; in May-June, 1847, he was on a visit of nine days to the University of North Carolina, of which he was a graduate; he went for a fortnight's tour to New England to attend a Masonic celebration in June-July, 1847; and finally in the late summer (August) of 1848 he was for ten days at Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania. There were no other absences from the seat of government. Moreover there was no cessation of cabinet meetings while he was in Washington from the August when the *Diary* opens. The regularity of Cabinet sessions, regular and "special," becomes positively irksome in the record. But in this respect Polk's theory and practices were in perfect accord. Listen to his words:

"No President who performs his duty faithfully and conscientiously can have any leisure. If he entrusts the details and smaller matters to subordinates constant errors will occur. I prefer to supervise the whole operations of the Government myself rather than entrust the public business to subordinates and this makes my duties very great."⁴⁶

This was not idle sentiment on Polk's part, as the record of his administration clearly proves. But he was ill at times during his last year (1848), and one may reasonably conclude that he was suffering from his incessant and tireless labors.

There is a passage in the *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman*⁴⁷ which, besides error, contains some elements of truth at this point worth noting. Polk, says Quitman's biographer,

"was a political martinet, a rigid disciplinarian. . . . He was a man of ability, but a man of expediency. . . . Polk was grave almost to sadness, self-restrained, and chilling. . .

⁴⁵*Diary*, II, 87.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, IV, 261. December 29, 1848.

⁴⁷I, 228-235 (*passim*).

(He) was indebted for his elevation to his energy, his circumspection, his capacity for labor, his fidelity to party, and, more than all, to the influence of Gen. Jackson. . . He had a vigorous and able cabinet—one of the ablest ever assembled around any executive. . . . but he can be regarded as a man of mediocrity. . . exempt from positive vices, remarkable for his prudence, and a thorough master of the strategy of politics. . . He, nevertheless, in four years, witnessed the decay of his popularity, and no one but himself dreamed of his re-election.”

It may be questioned whether “mediocrity” is to be lightly applied to this President who stands out conspicuously between Jackson on the one side and Lincoln on the other. He certainly did not “dream” of or wish to be reëlected to the office of President. In other respects the passage is discerning and probably fair.

Whether Polk was the first President to introduce regularity into Cabinet sessions I do not feel altogether certain, for as yet I have had no time to examine into the practices of the Cabinet during the Jackson-Van Buren-Tyler terms. But Polk’s Cabinet met as a rule every week throughout the year, if the President was not himself away from Washington: on Tuesdays and Saturdays at eleven a. m. in the forenoon. In one year alone—1846, during which war with Mexico was begun—the Council met about 114 times. In 1848, the year which closed treaty negotiations, there were approximately 120 meetings of the Cabinet. As I reckon it through the *Diary* evidence, there were 173 meetings on Tuesdays and about 168 meetings on Saturdays. All others, about 50, known as “special” meetings, were summoned on any one of the other days of the week. It was against Polk’s strict sabbatarian views to summon the Cabinet to Sunday sessions, but occasionally he

found it necessary to do so, although against his will. He never willingly missed attendance at church at eleven o'clock Sunday mornings. The regular sessions of the Cabinet were seldom over before two p. m. Many meetings can be found sitting as late as three or four o'clock. Polk's regular dinner-hour came at four. Evening consultations were occasional. Four and five hour sessions were termed long. Now and again when the President was indisposed Cabinet meetings had to be omitted. The laying of the corner-stone of the Smithsonian Institution and the public funeral of John Quincy Adams were among incidents that made it seem fitting to omit meetings of the Council.

Unlike the meetings of Adams's Cabinet, which were devoted to a few rather specific problems and were not frequent or at all regular, those of Polk were usually alive with variety of business and discussion. The epoch was alert. Its problems—especially those which were generated by the Oregon question and the War—were grave and complicated, burdened with consequences of a doubtful kind. Large subjects inevitably came before the Council: the tariff, Texas, Oregon, California, slavery, army troubles, most of which demanded the enunciation of more or less definite executive policy and attitude. But on the other hand there were numerous matters of minor, if not of petty significance: the Cabinet heard much political gossip and discussed it; it watched observantly the proceedings of Congress, and guided itself to some extent by what it observed. Polk and his advisers, especially Buchanan ambitious himself for the Presidency when he found that he could not easily get to the Supreme Court, scanned carefully many newspaper criticisms, and even attempted to dictate to sundry newspapers. The subject of office-seeking politicians, haunting Polk day and

night throughout his term, could not help coming at times into conciliar discussion. The four annual messages, prepared by Polk promptly and with remarkable care, were not only submitted to the Cabinet but to men of influence and discretion outside that body—to Vice-President Dallas, Editor Ritchie, Senators Benton and Cass and many others. The fourth and last message of Polk which, among presidential papers, must be reckoned remarkable always and was clearly deemed by Polk as his valedictory word to his Democratic followers as well as to the nation, was given slow and long attention. The President yielded his convictions neither easily nor as a rule for petty reasons. Politics influenced him. But he seldom forgot principles even though he had to sacrifice the friendship and influence of men as powerful as Senator Benton of Missouri and to some extent the assistance of Buchanan. A less prudent and sagacious man would probably have failed to hold through the administration three such ambitious and able advisers as Buchanan, Marcy, and Walker, for at one time or another they were all ready to abandon their places.

Votes in Cabinet sessions were exceedingly rare.⁴⁸ Like most Presidents before and since his time, Polk asked now and then for written opinions on technical matters of law from his Attorneys-General.⁴⁹ But he never seems to have taken written opinions from the rest of his counsellors. On this point his own words are conclusive. He wrote:

"I have never called for any written opinions from my Cabinet, preferring to take their opinions, after a discussion in Cabinet & in presence of each other. In this way harmony of opinion is more likely to exist. . . ."⁵⁰

⁴⁸*Diary*, III, 281.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, II, 79. IV, 202.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, IV, 131. September 23, 1848.

Thus a practice begun by Washington and peculiarly characteristic of the first President was willfully on Polk's part abandoned.

Polk would have liked to engage Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire as his Attorney-General in place of John Y. Mason transferred to the Navy portfolio on Bancroft's departure in 1846.⁵¹ He yielded to his Council's wishes, on Pierce's declining the place, naming Peter Vroom of New Jersey. When Vroom likewise declined, Polk got his second choice for the position in the person of Isaac Toucey of Connecticut, many years later Buchanan's Secretary of the Navy and predecessor of Gideon Welles. In some respects the case was parallel to President Adams's decision to accept General Peter B. Porter as his second Secretary of War in succession to Governor Barbour.

When in the spring of 1847 Polk was disturbed over questions of precedence among army officers and other similar matters, Richard Rush, then an elderly man of sixty-five and about to undertake his duties as minister to France—once Attorney-General under Madison and later (as I have pointed out) Secretary of the Treasury under John Quincy Adams—spent the late evening of Tuesday, January 19th, with Polk. The President took keen delight in talking with Rush, and recorded this recollection of Rush in his *Diary*. Polk wrote:

"He gave me a very interesting account of the appointment of a General-in-chief of the army upon the death of Maj'r Gen'l Brown. He said that Gen'l (s) Gaines & Scott had both written very exceptionable & violent letters to the President, each claiming the office, the one by virtue of his *lineal* & the other of his *Brevet* rank. He said that Mr. Clay was warmly in favour of Gen'l Scott; that Messrs. Barbour, Southard, & Wirt also expressed a preference for Gen'l

⁵¹*Ibid.*, II, 102. August 27, 1846.

Scott. He said that for himself he had been silent during the discussions, which had occasionally taken place during a period of more than six weeks, but that finally his opinion was asked in Cabinet by the President & he gave it in favour of Gen'l Macomb, upon the ground that he thought neither Gaines nor Scott ought to be appointed after the very exceptionable letters which they had written. The President (Mr. Adams) who had never before expressed an opinion, Mr. Rush said, upon hearing his opinion in favour of Gen'l Macomb straightened himself up in his seat, and in his peculiar manner said 'and I think so too.' Mr. Rush said this was unexpected and produced great astonishment in the Cabinet, and came very near breaking up the Cabinet. He said as the members of the Cabinet retired, on the walk from the President's mansion Mr. Clay was vehement on the subject, and expressed warmly the opinion that they could not get along under such treatment from the President. He said he interposed to allay the excitement & advised moderation. The President appointed Gen'l Macomb and the matter here ended."⁵²

In all essential details this account, in comparison with the record of Adams's *Memoirs* of Monday, April 14, 1828, appears to be correct, although slightly elaborated. It shows how clear an impression of a sensational Cabinet session nineteen years before remained in Rush's memory. Moreover, it is a real piece of evidence of Polk's ability to reproduce accurately the essential points of a conversation with a comparative stranger.

In concluding this account of Polk's Cabinet meetings, attention should be called to a matter of policy extending over many sessions of the Council in which Polk showed his independence and principle. It may not be at once recalled that there was a widespread and vigorous movement in 1847-48, led by a number of

⁵²*Diary*, II, 343-344. See *supra*, pp. 116-117.

prominent politicians, to force Polk to the task of absorbing the whole of Mexico. That we escaped annexing all of Mexico in 1848 was due to some variety of causes. But not the least of these was that President Polk effectually controlled the policy of this government in spite of several intimate assistants, such as Buchanan and R. J. Walker, who would have had him reject the treaty negotiated by Nicholas Trist in accordance with Polk's instructions given him in April, 1847, at the time when Trist was sent on a treaty-making mission.⁵³

By the time that Polk was ready to leave office in 1849 the Cabinet was a thoroughly well-established and matured institution. That he had done a good deal to fix certain customs I am inclined to believe; he was a stickler for regularity in administrative practices—remarkably vigilant in keeping himself and his intimate assistants at work throughout the four-year term. It may safely be conjectured that the Cabinet never met without the President. Moreover we probably know with a rare degree of precision what was said and done at many of these sessions. As the President kept his hand on a great many matters, so he often was prepared to be the real director of discussions and the author of the administration's attitude or policy so far as the executive department was concerned. He had several conspicuously able assistants about him. Nevertheless, if one may trust impressions gathered largely from the *Diary*, he was never overpowered by any one of these able men. It is the President who at length dominates the situation by his ability to grasp its de-

⁵³I have hastened over this paragraph in view of the detailed and careful consideration given to this phase of my subject by the late Professor E. G. Bourne. See his *Essays in Historical Criticism* (1901), pp. 226 ff. "The Proposed Absorption of Mexico in 1847-1848," Mr. Bourne made use of Polk's *Diary*, at the time in MS.

tails and, though aided by others, to understand it. In the Cabinet Council Polk was the unmistakable guide and master. Ceremonies he disliked; but he cherished such forms as aided him and his colleagues in getting things done. The fact that Mrs. Dolly Madison and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton were not unfamiliar figures in presidential circles in the national Capital during the administration may serve to suggest that the executive part of the government was still influenced to some extent by ideals and practices of an earlier day. Solemn and serious as Polk undoubtedly was, over-worked and something of a martinet, he remains as the most interesting figure in the Presidency between Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln.

VI.

Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, composed of seven members (including a Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the establishment of such an office in 1849—Caleb Smith of Indiana), averaged in ages men of about fifty-five. Lincoln himself was but fifty-two when he undertook his great task in March, 1861. Edward Bates of Missouri, Attorney-General, was sixty-eight years old—the oldest member of the Council. Simon Cameron who left the headship of the War Department in January, 1862, to be succeeded then by Edwin M. Stanton, was sixty-two. Seward was sixty. Most of the other cabinet associates were under sixty. Montgomery Blair of Maryland, Postmaster-General, Stanton, Dennison of Ohio and J. P. Usher, successor to the inconsequential Smith—the last two entering the Cabinet long after its first organization—were under fifty. Seward and Chase, both of whom had been aspirants for the chief office, were naturally the conspicuous figures—able men destined to leave a mark in history. Of

the others, Stanton, Welles, and Fessenden were forceful, although no one of these last made much of an appeal to the popular imagination.

Whether by chance or by reason of a precedent slightly different from that set by the Polk practice and adopted sometime between 1849 and 1861, Lincoln's Cabinet adopted soon after its early and irregular meetings the Tuesday-Friday rule for regular sessions. Welles's *Diary* affords glimpses of about 166 Cabinet meetings between July, 1862, and April 14, 1865. The sessions of the Cabinet during 1863 and 1864 were certainly frequent on the regular days, "special" meetings being summoned on most any other day of the week except Sunday. Now and then Sunday meetings occurred; but there are, I think, only six meetings recorded as taking place on Sunday during the Lincoln-Johnson period, from 1862 to 1869. Neither Lincoln nor Johnson revealed any sabbatarian opposition to such assemblings of the Council.

In March, 1861, the variety of personal elements brought suddenly into close proximity, the chaotic administrative conditions left as a heritage to his successor by Buchanan, and the peculiar outward circumstances of the political situation made the process of adjustment between Lincoln and his advisers certain to be slow and likely to be difficult. "Few comparatively know or can appreciate," wrote Welles, "the actual condition of things and state of feeling of the members of the administration in those days. Nearly sixty years of peace had unfitted us for any war; but the most terrible of all wars—a civil one—was upon us and it had to be met. Congress had adjourned without making any provision for the storm, though aware it was at hand and soon to burst upon the country. A new administration, scarcely acquainted with each

other, and differing essentially in the past, was compelled to act, promptly and decisively.”⁵⁴

Of the earliest cabinet meetings the Secretary of the Navy has this to say:

“Cabinet-meetings, which should, at that exciting and interesting period, have been daily, were infrequent, irregular, and without system. The Secretary of State notified his associates when the President desired a meeting of the heads of Departments. It seemed unadvisable to the Premier—as he liked to be called and considered—that the members should meet often, and they did not. Consequently there was very little concerted action.”⁵⁵

Seward, we are informed, was invariably present before the gatherings of the counsellors and assumed the leading place, mindful no doubt of his familiarity with and experience in affairs of state from the days of his governorship to his work as Senator from the most conspicuous state in the Union. He failed, however, to impress either the President or his colleagues with his knowledge of the demands of the new situation. It was not long before his arrogant assumption of power and his actions became among members of the Cabinet matters of common gossip. Bates of Missouri, the elderly Attorney-General, and Chase of the Treasury Department expressed themselves openly in Council on the subject of the desultory discussions, the lack of system, and of that concert and comity which should prevail in a really strong administration. There was apparently no set hour for Cabinet sessions. No seats were assigned. Outsiders appeared—a miscellaneous variety whose advice promised to be useful. In brief, without any rules or regulations, general disorder prevailed.⁵⁶

⁵⁴*Diary of Gideon Welles* (1911), I, 549. March 30, 1864.

⁵⁵*Diary*, I, 136. September 16, 1862.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, I, 136-138.

The form of proceedings was at length considered. Lincoln was modest, inexperienced, doubtful. But he was sagacious enough to concentrate results, "and often determined questions adversely to the Secretary of State, taking Seward's opinions as well as those of the others for what they were worth and generally no more." Bates, perhaps prompted by the President, suggested that Cabinet sessions be held on stated days. Special calls, he thought, might be issued if business or exceptional circumstances demanded them. It was the impression of several advisers that high appointments, hitherto made by the heads separately, should be matters for general consultation. Seward and Chase in particular—the latter having very extensive patronage under his control—had settled sundry appointments with the President alone, and perhaps occasionally on their own independent judgments. "Each of these gentlemen had high aspirations. Each had been chief Executive of his State. Each had represented his state in the Senate, and each had a distinct party position and, to some extent, a personal following."⁵⁷ It was no doubt natural that they should both consider themselves in the light of privileged characters. At any rate they did so.

The circumstances of the period between April 12—the day that Sumter was attacked—and the assembling of the special session of Congress on July 4, 1861, brought into operation a new principle, that of a temporary dictatorship. "All the powers of government were virtually concentrated in a single department, and that the department whose energies were directed by the will of a single man."⁵⁸ Inevitably these circum-

⁵⁷G. Welles, *Lincoln and Seward* (1874), p. 48.

⁵⁸W. A. Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* (1898), pp. 20-21.

stances had, it may be assumed, much to do with setting in order and quickening what may be termed the machinery of the Cabinet. Cabinet meetings began to be held with greater frequency. The Cabinet helped to formulate numerous executive orders and plans which were the means of putting into operation the war powers of the President. Confronted by vast responsibility, the Cabinet issued papers and accomplished acts that might, under ordinary circumstances, have brought them all to the scaffold.⁵⁹

The hour of meeting was in the forenoon, usually at eleven o'clock. Exceptionally the session was called as early as nine, or again as late as twelve or even one o'clock. Occasionally there was an evening session as, for example, that of Sunday, February 5, 1865,⁶⁰ in the record of which no hour is stated. On the basis of much evidence in the *Diary* I should venture the guess that meetings of Lincoln's Cabinet seldom consumed more than two hours of time. There were occasionally stories from Lincoln at the beginning or near the close, some variety of gossip; but the real business was apt to be quickly disposed of. Now and again one finds records of cabinet sessions held during parts of consecutive days—as for instance the meetings of Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, the last three days of December, 1862, just preceding the final issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation.⁶¹ Again, at the most critical military moment of the War, the Cabinet assembled on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, July 5, 6 and 7, 1863.⁶² On Monday and Tuesday, September 14-15, 1863, while the problem of *habeas corpus* was

⁵⁹*Diary* I, 549. March 30, 1864.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, II, 237.

⁶¹*Ibid.* I, 207-211.

⁶²*Ibid.*, I, 359 ff.

before the Council, there were three meetings—two of them occurring on the second day.⁶³

The records of Welles give much evidence on the subject of attendance at council sessions. At most sessions the President was of course present, but not always. Welles himself was (in his own words) “less absent than any other member.”⁶⁴ In attendance Stanton was the most unaccountable member, particularly during 1863, when, according to the Secretary of the Navy, Stanton did not attend half the meetings.⁶⁵ Some he willfully ignored. Seward likewise and Chase were variable: they as well as Stanton would sometimes withdraw when the rest of the Council had assembled or very soon afterwards.⁶⁶

Although there were regular cabinet days and some effort at order from near the opening of the administration, the cabinet sessions often seemed perfunctory or nearly useless. Welles, Chase and Blair, possibly others, voiced at different times the complaint that the Government was administered too much by heads of departments not properly co-ordinated or acting on that common understanding which cabinet sessions could or should bring about. It was certainly a recurrent note sounded over many months. Nevertheless, looking back on the last night of 1863 over the year that had passed, the Secretary of the Navy was able to say this of Lincoln:

“The President has well maintained his position, and under trying circumstances acquitted himself in a manner that will be better appreciated in the future than now. . . . The

⁶³*Diary*. I, 431-434.

⁶⁴*Ibid.* I, 431.

⁶⁵*Ibid.* I, 320. June 2, 1863.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, See under dates: September 12, 1862; July 24, August 14, 1863; June 24, 1864.

Cabinet, if a little discordant in some of its elements, has been united as regards him."⁶⁷

Certain outsiders were admitted occasionally to cabinet sessions—General Scott and Commodore Stringham among others near the outset of the administration. On Friday, July 31, 1863, Colonel Rawlins on General Grant's staff delivered the official report of the siege of Vicksburg and the capture of Pemberton's army. He was before the Cabinet for two hours and from Welles's description of the occasion any reader may gather that the interview was both interesting and very informing. About a fortnight later, on Friday, August 14, the victor of Gettysburg, General Meade, called unexpectedly at the executive mansion while the Cabinet was in session. It is manifest from the record that the Secretary of the Navy, and probably his colleagues could not forget that Meade had allowed Lee to escape into Virginia. There are no details. Quite the best known appearance of an outsider at a cabinet session is probably that of General Grant who was present at the last cabinet session which Lincoln was destined ever to attend—the session on the morning of the fatal Friday, April 14, 1865—five days after Lee's surrender at Appomatox. It was Good Friday. A sense of deep and tranquil happiness had come over the country, and was particularly felt in the nation's capital. That very morning Grant reached the city and on arriving went to the executive mansion. Here Welles found him in conversation with Lincoln and several cabinet officers. Lincoln invited Grant to remain for the cabinet session that was about to be held.

The meeting opened with talk about General Sherman. Anxiety was expressed as to the probable outcome of Sherman's movements against the Confeder-

⁶⁷*Diary*, I, 500.

ates under Johnston. Grant was expecting news from Sherman at any moment. The President assured Grant and the assembled advisers that the news would come soon and be favorable, for he said that he had had on the preceding night a dream. This dream, he added, was apt to come before some great event. He had had the same dream before Sumter, Bull Run, Antietam, Gettysburg, Stone River, Vicksburg, and Wilmington. At Welles's request Lincoln related the dream:

"He said it related to your (my) element, the water; that he seemed to be in some singular, indescribable vessel, and that he was moving with great rapidity towards an indefinite shore. . . ."

The account of the dream, slight as it was, made an impression on the minds of several listeners, and was recalled vividly by them after the happenings of the next twenty-four hours or so. Then followed the serious business of the session: (i) a consideration of the problem of reestablishing trade relations with the districts so recently in rebellion by opening the ports and arousing natural commercial and social intercourse in at least that portion of the South east of the Mississippi river. Grant was frequently appealed to as familiar with conditions, and gave useful information and counsel. (ii) A matter of greater perplexity was the problem which had confronted the Cabinet for many months—that of political readjustment and reconstruction. Stanton had already drawn up his ideas in the shape of a plan or ordinance which was then before the Council. This ordinance, taken in connection with the regulations of the Peirpont régime in Virginia, would afford an outline of government which, according to Lincoln's view, should not be ignored. Stanton's ordinance was finally referred back to the Secretary

of War, with directions from Lincoln that it be brought forward once more, having undergone sundry changes, at the next meeting of the Cabinet on the Tuesday following, April 18. Copies of the Stanton ordinance were to be made in order that it might be closely examined by every member of the Cabinet. With this understanding, the meeting was dismissed.

Our knowledge of this cabinet session rests chiefly on the evidence furnished by Mr. Welles. We know from him that Grant remained through the meeting. Seward was absent, confined as the result of a recent accident to his house. Speed, the Attorney-General, and Usher of the Interior Department were not present; otherwise the Cabinet was complete.

There were other instances of outsiders admitted to cabinet sessions during the Lincoln epoch. I have given instances enough to indicate how at critical times the Cabinet sought enlightenment from visitors. The Lincoln Cabinet simply adopted a practice that Polk and no doubt other preceding chief magistrates had found useful.

There are several illustrations of written opinions being exacted by Lincoln from his chosen advisers: (i) opinions in writing were taken in December, 1862, with reference to the proposal to divide Virginia into Virginia and West Virginia⁶⁸; (ii) again, about the same time, Seward, Chase, Welles, Bates, and Blair had each something to offer in writing with reference to the final formulation of the Proclamation of Emancipation⁶⁹; and (iii) in the following April, 1863, the Peterhoff Case was sufficiently technical and trying to make it incumbent on the President to get such written

⁶⁸*Diary*. I, 208. Monday, December 29.

⁶⁹*Ibid.* I, 210-211. Cf. Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln* VI, 405-419 (*passim*).

opinions as he could from those well-informed on questions of international law. The usefulness of Welles was peculiarly evident in this latter instance.

The "Peterhoff" was a British merchant steamer bound for the Mexican port of Matamoras, but captured with goods intended for the Mexicans and government mails. The Cabinet was especially concerned with the problem of the proper disposition of the mails. It was not a subject of widespread public consideration, but inasmuch as this aspect of the case was sure to be watched closely by the British government, any mishandling of it might, it was felt at the time, lead us into grave international difficulties. In fact the problem concealed unlimited trouble with England. Lincoln was quick to recognize its gravity. Although the ultimate settlement of the case rested with the courts—it was actually decided by the Supreme Court in 1866⁷⁰—the President, desiring that the diplomatic point should be clearly grasped as a matter of general policy, called on the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Navy for written opinions. Welles labored on his opinion for the better portion of a week and presented under date of April 25 a long and carefully studied paper.⁷¹ The mail, Welles contended, could be examined by the prize court before it was delivered up to the British government or sent to its destination. Seward, having rather summarily—as it seemed to Welles—adopted a different principle in a letter written the previous October which was in the nature of an order to blockading and naval officers (a letter, be it said, which had come to the knowledge of Lord Lyons, English minister in Washington) at-

⁷⁰ 5 Wallace, pp. 28-62. The opinion was delivered by Chief Justice Chase, a member of the Cabinet in 1863.

⁷¹ *Diary*. I, 266-310 (*passim*). *Lincoln and Seward*, pp. 100 ff. Cf. W. E. Hall, *International Law* (4 ed., 1895), pp. 703 ff.

tempted to dispute Welles's contention. Senator Sumner sustained the Welles point of view. And in the writers cited by Welles there was undoubtedly some ground for it. Yet, read today, the opinion of Secretary Welles fails to carry conviction. But before Welles's opinion was given, Seward had followed out his original design, for on April 21 he instructed Charles Francis Adams, our minister in London, that the Peterhoff's mail would be forwarded to its destination unopened.⁷² There cannot be much doubt that Seward acted in a way least likely to provoke on the part of England ill-feeling, whatever the law in the case. His high-principled and industrious opponent, the Secretary of the Navy, had at least proved to the President his watchfulness over the national interests so far as his department was concerned.

The period of the War was so very unusual and brought such strain upon all parts of the government, but especially upon the executive administration, that it would be surprising to find even the Cabinet an altogether normal institution under the circumstances. Yet our best recent evidence goes to show that the Council was directed through most of the period pretty effectively, with some regard to system and order of meetings. Welles wrote:

"Measures and important movements of each of the departments were generally, but not always, submitted to the Cabinet. The President was invariably consulted. . . . The policy of the President and the course of administration were based on substantial principles and convictions to which he firmly adhered."⁷³

He was no martinet, like Polk. But he was a man of

⁷²J. B. Moore, *Digest of International Law* (1906), VII, ch. xxiv, §1201.

⁷³*Lincoln and Seward*, p. 47.

real discernment in state affairs, and a very shrewd judge of men.

VII.

Seward, Welles, and Hugh McCulloch of Indiana—the latter successor in the Treasury Secretaryship to W. P. Fessenden—all remained in Andrew Johnson's Cabinet for the next four years. This was undoubtedly a fortunate circumstance, for, generally speaking, Johnson's administration was hardly normal in its more intimate or interior workings. The Cabinet, easily affected by its environment and somewhat swayed from its usual practices by strained relations between several of its members and the chief magistrate, was never a specially congenial or homogeneous body. As early as July, 1866, three of the advisers, Postmaster-General Dennison, Attorney-General Speed, and the Secretary of the Interior James Harlan of Iowa, resigned from the Council, and their places had to be filled. Stanton, the Secretary of War, by declining to resign until he was virtually forced to do so and actually suspended from his place by order of Johnson, created intolerable difficulties for the President. But meantime dissentient and radical members of the House had forced impeachment proceedings and thus wracked the executive power to its foundations, bringing about a national crisis and preventing any normal equilibrium between executive and legislative forces for the remainder of the ill-fated term. The impeachment was the gravest incident in the history of the Presidency. But it is remarkable that it did not interfere more vitally than it appears to have done in the matter of cabinet sessions. In March, 1868, there is the highest record of cabinet sessions to be found during any single month of cabinet history that I have ever examined—

seventeen, all told. In January, 1848, Polk's Cabinet, then hard at work on the settlement of Mexican affairs, met fourteen times. But in March, 1868, it is of course to be remembered that Johnson's Cabinet was endeavoring to save the political life of the chief magistrate against thoroughly embittered foes.

The *Diary* of Welles gives some evidence on nearly 300 Cabinet sessions (297) of the administration. The Tuesday-Friday rule was maintained as it had been for the greater part of Lincoln's terms. The Cabinet met in the forenoon, probably at eleven o'clock, but noon meetings were not uncommon.⁷⁴ Meetings at other times were rare, and Sunday meetings especially so unless there was an emergency. In June, 1865, Welles remarked:

"The meetings are better and more punctually attended than under Mr. Lincoln's administration, and measures are more generally discussed, which undoubtedly tends to better administration. . ."⁷⁵

Attention was paid to the rank of the officers in speaking at sessions, for on at least one occasion the Secretary of the Interior was mentioned as having first spoken out of turn.⁷⁶ As early as June, 1865, there were rumors from the outside that the impression was gaining ground that Congress and the Judiciary were being ignored—that they were "mere instruments" in the hands of an over-bearing executive who meant to direct affairs very much as he pleased.⁷⁷ Stanton's course in the War Department was proving unsatisfactory to some of his cabinet colleagues.⁷⁸ And even Johnson by the winter of 1865 had aroused sufficient

⁷⁴See *Diary*, March 10, July 28, November 17, 1868.

⁷⁵June 20.

⁷⁶May 1, 1866; January 8, 1867.

⁷⁷June 30.

⁷⁸August 8, 1865.

antagonism to mark him for possible impeachment by the House.⁷⁹ Stanton, Harlan, and Speed were all of them displeased by the President's veto of the Freedmen's Bureau bill in the early spring of 1866.⁸⁰ Although Welles remarked on a "pleasant and harmonious" session of the Cabinet on February 20 of that year, the expression seemed to imply that such meetings were becoming worthy of comment and rather unusual. Within the next few months the President had become quite dissatisfied with several of his regular counsellors.⁸¹ There was lack of cordiality among them.

In the spring of 1867 there was very general disapproval in the Council of the Tenure of Office bill. Stanbery, one of the ablest Attorneys-General who have ever sat in the Cabinet, was perfectly clear in his position. Seward and Stanton were asked by Johnson to prepare a veto message, and they did so.⁸² It was in August of that year that the President requested Stanton's resignation.⁸³ Failing to receive it, he suspended him and appointed Grant as *ad interim* Secretary of War—a decision that led to endless complications. It is not to be inferred that Cabinet sessions became much less frequent as troubles heaped up; though there may have been some falling off in regularity: for Welles declared occasionally that the President had "no confidants" and failed to communicate freely with his advisers.⁸⁴ Written opinions, though unusual, were occasionally requested.⁸⁵ Votes in cabinet sessions were

⁷⁹December 11.

⁸⁰February 19.

⁸¹April 14.

⁸²February 26, August 6, 1867.

⁸³August 5.

⁸⁴Cf. *Diary* under August 31, 1867; February 22, 28, March 17, 1868.

⁸⁵January 4, February 15, 1867.

likewise infrequent.⁸⁶ But we find two very careful and elaborate records of as many cabinet sessions held on June 18-19, 1867—still in the Johnson Manuscripts. These records carefully taken down in a clerical hand, indicate the whole course of proceedings in cabinet on the subject during two days of a discussion of the Reconstruction Acts. Johnson wished to be perfectly clear about the interpretation of the acts, and had an opinion of the Attorney-General as a basis for discussion beside the text (in print) of the Acts themselves. Many votes were taken on the different points of interpretation involved—all carefully recorded; and they reveal today a unique official record of that troublesome period.⁸⁷

Outside the circle of the regular counsellors there appeared from time to time others: notably on various occasions the assistant secretaries of the Departments when, for any reason, the Secretaries were absent. Welles makes occasional note of them and objects to speaking of the more intimate matters concerning policy in their presence.⁸⁸ Johnson's private secretary, Colonel Moore must often have been present, probably with marked regularity—fulfilling very much such a function as did Polk's secretary, J. Knox Walker in the years, 1845-49. Indeed Washington had his Tobias Lear who, though not recorded at any of Washington's cabinet sessions, may yet have attended occasionally. Lear, Walker, Moore—and Mr. Joseph Tumulty. Although there is no doubt about the rule of numerous administrations in having the Cabinet summoned by the Secretary of State, it is I think, altogether probable that some variety of cabinet sessions

⁸⁶July 21, 1865.

⁸⁷*Johnson Papers*. MSS. in Library of Congress, vol. 115.

⁸⁸*Diary*.

have been summoned by the private secretary from early times to the present day.

Large allowance must be made for Welles's rather persistent inclination to criticise Secretary Seward. But when he speaks of Seward on a Saturday in January, 1867, "dancing round Stevens, Sumner, Boutwell, Banks and others," of his running to the Capitol and seating himself first by Stevens in the House and then by Sumner in the Senate, a matter which made comment in the galleries and provided the reporters of those days with gossip for the newspapers, he not only is amusingly picturesque, however irritated by the practice he may be, but he also, all unconsciously, affords to the historian a glimpse of truth that relieves somewhat the figure of the Premier in the staid and sober sessions of Johnson's Cabinet Council.⁸⁹

The Cabinet, although strictly speaking unrecognized by Constitution or law—mentioned but once, so far as I am aware, in a federal statute—is yet an institution fixed by the force of old practices now amounting to strong customs in our national scheme of government. It provided all Presidents with a corps of experts, qualified, if well chosen, in many matters only to be comprehended by men of learning or ripe and varied experience. Its meetings constitute only one aspect of its importance. But they afford, if it can be extracted from very refractory materials, the very essence of its purpose and its usefulness.

⁸⁹*Diary*. III, 25-26.

DOCTOR AND MRS. WILLIAM THORNTON.

By ALLEN C. CLARK.

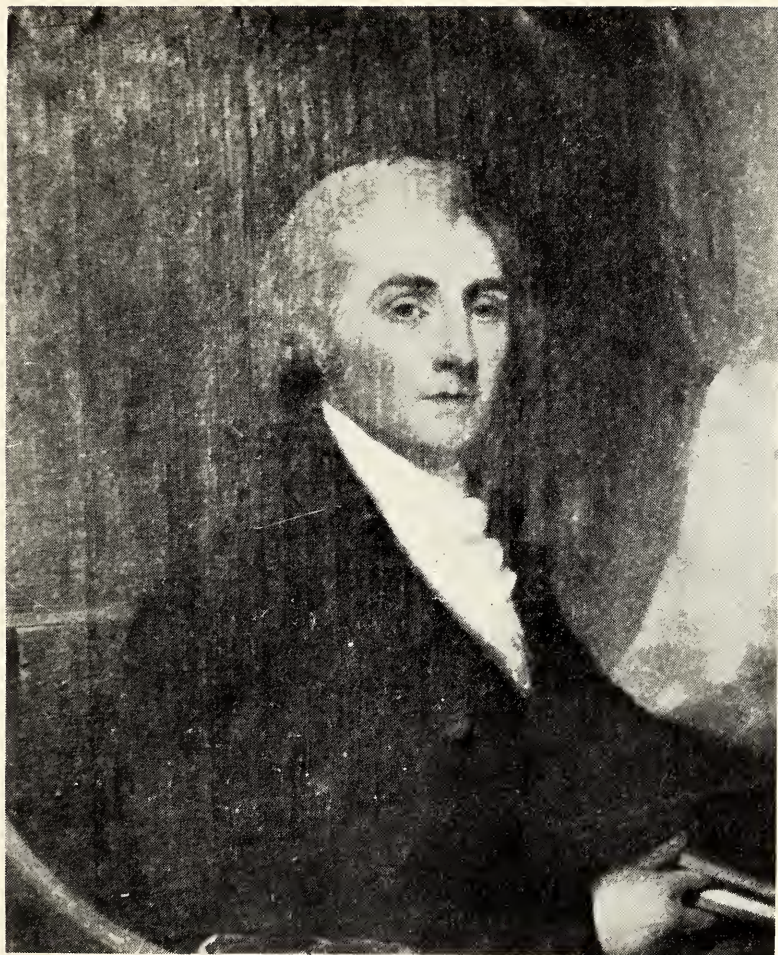
(Read before the Society, May 19, 1914.)

Thomas Carlyle's endurable works of profundity had less sale than the evanescent fictions of the day. Of the seeming lack of appreciation he complained, so it is said, to his publishers. All, and that includes the less deep, have a concernment in a life. Even the creation of a novelist moves the emotions. Each of the other's life likes to know the loves, the adventures, the comedies and the tragedies that it contains. And, to have an advantage to draw your attention, I shall narrate the personal rather than the public life of my subjects.

He, of whom I write was a large man, for mind is the man. His eyes shone with intelligence for his head was full of intelligence. He was singularly handsome, or Gilbert Stuart made him so; and he was even more handsome in the portrait of himself by himself. He knew many things, indeed, he knew almost everything. And what he knew he was disposed to fully let everybody else know.

She, of whom I write, had bright eyes and sharp features, the outward indicative of the inward, quick perception and accurate conclusion. Her pleasing personality, Gilbert Stuart has truthfully put in a portrait. She had the womanly graces. Besides she had the practical side and in the affairs of business was equal to a man. Nevertheless, she did not wield the club of Hercules; neither did she "invade the privileges" of the sterner sex. (Dr. Goldsmith).

He and she were husband and wife.



DR. WILLIAM THORNTON
By Gilbert Stuart

The Society of Friends in England had a settlement of their sect in the West Indies. For many decades are records of their meetings.¹ The meetings were monthly and held at the Fat Hog Meeting House at Tortola of the Virgin Isles. Of this settlement in the speck in the tropical waters were the Thorntons.

William Thornton was born May 27, 1761, on the little island Jost van Dyke in the West Indies. Concurrently it is not easy to recall historically the year 1761. On this side of the Atlantic, it was the first year after the Seven Years' War; on the other, it was eventful in the temporary fall of Pitt upon his bold encouragement of the seizure on the seas of the Spanish treasure from the Indies and of the occupation of Panama and attacking the Spanish dominions. He did not fall with the people for in their admiration of the "Great Commoner" they hung on to the spokes of his coach, hugged his footman and kissed his horses.

Mrs. Thornton thought Dr. Thornton's father's name was William, too; and she knew his mother's was Dorcas Downing Zeageus. At an early age William was sent to England and in Lancaster received rudimentary education. He lived there with his grandmother and Miss Jane and Miss Mary Thornton, his aunts, on the family estate, Green-Air. William had ancestors for when his grandmothers in the recitation of the genealogy arrived at *William the Conqueror*, he was generally sound asleep. He was coddled by his aunts and cared for by his uncle; association with affection made him affectionate.

William went down to London and lodged at Mr. Dicks, No. 7 King Street, Cheapside, London and for a time at 15 Norfolk Street, Strand, with the Honorable Thomas Thomasson, his stepfather.

¹Minutes begin "the 1st day 9 mo, 1741—"

He was a student at the College of Edinburgh; entered perhaps in 1781. In the showcase in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress are exhibited his college cards. Other cards are:

Edin^r Oct. 178(1)

Received 2^{sh}6 from M^r Thornton to Dues of Upper Janitor & Macer to the University.

And^w Fyfe.

Lectures
on
Chemistry
Begun 31st October 1781
By J. Black
For Will^m Thornton

Edin^r Oct^r 31, 1781
Anatomy
and
Surgery
No 555
A Monro
M^r William Thornton

No

46

Royal Infirmary
Edinburgh
1st November 1782

M^r Will. Thornton

Student

To continue in force one year

Arch^d. Hope Jr.

Alex^x Hunter P—



MRS. WILLIAM THORNTON.
Water Color, by Dr. William Thornton.

Edin^r 19th Nov^r 1782

A

Course of Lectures
on the
Practice of Medicine
by

John Brown, M. D.

For M^r Wm. Thornton.

Mr. Wm. Thornton, a pupil at St. Bartholomew's Hospital for six months from the 1st day of Oct., 1783.

“The parchment degree, with its ponderous leaden seal, is among the Thornton papers in the J. Henley Smith collection, Library of Congress.”—*A History of the National Capital*, W. B. Bryan.

Young Thornton at the University mixed with many like himself in other days to be so elevated the public could not fail to see them. And he could not have forgotten to have seen the hardy boy a little lame in his right leg who was more distinguished in the playgrounds than in the class, Walter Scott.

Recommending Thornton to a degree in medicine, Dr. John Walker, the Professor of Natural History in the College of Edinburgh, to Dr. George Skeen, Professor in Marichal College, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, November 10, 1784, writes:

“He has been all along, one of the most respectable Medical students in this place, has an excellent literary and public Spirit, and has been much noticed and regarded. He was elected a Member of the Antiquarian and Royal Medical Societies and one of the Presidents of our Society in the College of natural History.”

It is true, as appears by a certificate dated Musæum Edinburgh, April 4, 1782, Thornton was elected a correspondent of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scot-

land on the motion of Sir John Dalrymple, H. M. Baronet, and the second of the Earl of Buchan, the first vice-president.

The Earl was an ardent antiquarian. John Clerk (Lord Eldin), a chum of Walter Scott, possessed by frankness and possessed of great genius, exercised his talent to please the antiquarians. He did it by manufacturing mutilated heads, which he buried in the ground to be accidentally discovered at a propitious hour and to be borne off with glee and honor by the antiquarians and added to the valuable accessions of their private museums. His father was especially a discriminating connoisseur and his museum was the most rich with these treasures of his son's genius. Showing one to the Earl of Buchan, that connoisseur, in his enthusiasm, carried it off to present to this same Society of Antiquaries. And it is still there to be admired.

A distinction there is between an antiquarian and a historian. Which is farther off the earth; as you want the reply, ask the antiquarian or the historian.

Thornton was a good penman. He could, if he so wished, make delicate lines, graceful curves and pretty flourishes, suggestive of our Spencerian system unfortunately falling into disuse. When a lad at school he handed his uncle two £5 notes and asked him to select the one the better engraved. The uncle selected the counterfeit just made by young Thornton.

Dr. Thornton continued his studies in Paris. A friendship arose with Countess de Beauharnais.² Her husband, the Count, was the uncle of Viscount de Beauharnais, the first husband of Josephine, who was the first wife of Napoleon, the Great.

²Her maiden name was Marie Anne Francoise (commonly called Fanny) Mouchard.

Having been separated from her husband after a few years of marriage, the Countess devoted herself to her taste for letters and poetry and formed a *Salon*, where she brought together the men of letters and the scholars, amongst them were Dorat, Mably, Dussaulx, Curbrières, Bitaubé, etc. Good, clever, amiable, kind, artless in her elegance and unaffected, Fanny de Beauharnais was nevertheless very much abused by many of her contemporaries on account of her literary productions. . . . finally Ecouchard Lebrun, who wrote five epigrams against her, of which one of them as fine as cruel has become famous:

“Eglé, beautiful and poetess has two little bad habits;
She makes (up) her face, and does not make her verses.”

The paragraph which precedes is in good French in the *dictionnaire* from which I quote it. After the list of scholars, Dorat and the others, the *etc.* is Dr. Thornton. The young Doctor worshipped at the shrine of beauty, elegance and gift. Of Fanny de Beauharnais, the Doctor painted a miniature. That fair ideas did flow from her to beguile him as he deftly blended the delicate colors, it is only to say.

Dr. Thornton was in Tortola (June 25, 1786) and that year came to the States. At first, early in 1787, he was in New York. Then he lived in Wilmington, Delaware; and to Delaware he took the oath of fidelity January 7, 1788. To his dear father and mother, in Quaker pronouns, he writes, April 14, 1788: “I applied to Governor Dickinson for permission to address his Daughter, but he thinks her too young by several years, and knows no objection whatever to me.”

At this period (1786-'90) the Doctor lived with Mrs. House in Fifth Street, corner of Market, Philadelphia. He surely must have been acquainted with Dolly Payne, when that was her name, and Dolly Todd.

when that was her name. He must also have been acquainted with James Madison, Jr., and the younger generation of the smart set.

In the handwriting of the Philosopher is:

"Dr. Franklin requests the favor of Dr. Thornton's Company at Dinner on Saturday next at 3 o'clock."

"Tues. 17, Feb. 1789."

Dr. Franklin was a patron of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Dr. Thornton was a member. The foundation for the new building was laid August 31, 1789. The plans were furnished by Dr. Thornton and over the front door in a niche was a statue of Dr. Franklin. In W. Birch and Son's drawings is the Library in Fifth Street across from Independence Square. The plans were adjudged the best in a competition and the award was a share of stock of the value of \$40.

"Mrs. Brodeau requests the favor of Dr. Thornton's company this afternoon to tea, she expects the pleasure of Mr^s Caldwell Craig's company, & as a further inducement promises him a tune on the harp from M. de la Neuville. Tuesday (1790.)"

M. E. Hyde de Neuville in the States had a haven until the storm in France cleared. Again, he came to the States, the second time as Minister. His direct diplomacy and delightful disposition and the sincere sociability of Mme. de Neuville made him and her popular to the limit.

Mrs. Brodeau had a boarding school for young ladies in Philadelphia at 2 Lodge Alley (west side of Second between Chesnut and Walnut, now Moravian Street). It so appears in the directories of 1791 and 1793. She had the encouragement of Dr. Benjamin Rush, who was the author of "Thoughts Upon Female Educa-



MRS. WILLIAM THORNTON
By Gilbert Stuart

tion.” And it appears also that Mrs. Brodeau was of the select society of the Quaker stronghold.

Dr. William Thornton and Anna Maria, the daughter of Mrs. Brodeau, married, October 13, 1790.³ The groom was twenty-nine, the bride, fifteen. The new-wedded went to Tortola, October 16, 1790. What the first letter of a new mother-in-law is like should interest:

“My Dear Son,

“Whatever grief the giving you that title may have cost me, be assured I glory in the name of mother to you. I hope I shall always have reason (to) exult in the appellation. I should not have wrote to you (so) soon as I can have nothing particular to say but to remind you of your promise to write me by every opportunity. Would not wish to impose a task on you, but hope the writing of your wife, to her mother will be rather a pleasure, particularly if she puts it in your power to speak well of her, which I hope will always be the case, permit me again to recommend her to your indulgent tenderness, give her as much of your society as you can, remember she is but a child & that it is only by being allow’d to profit by your conversation, that she can become a pleasing companion to you at all times. She has left a society that I flatter myself was pleasing to her, for your sake, do not let her feel the want of it by spending your time at a distance from her, for be well assured no society can make her amend for the loss of yours. Your friend Dr. Rush has predicted that you will make one of the best Husbands, for all our sakes don’t let him be a false prophet. Please to make most affectionate remembrances to Mr. Rivardy. I hope the voyage will have been of service to him, & if he will favor me with a few lines I shall think myself under great obligations to

³(1800 October) “Monday, 13th gloomy and rain.—I was married this day ten years—it then rained.—I hope we may be able to pass the next anniversary of it more agreeably.” Mrs. Thornton’s Journal.

him. Please make my best respects to your mother—father, &c.

I am your truly Affectionate

Friend & Mother,

A. BRODEAU.”

Thursday, Oct. 29, 1790.

You may suppose Love & Compt^t from our poor diminished Society.

Dr. Thornton,

Tortola.

With John Fitch, Dr. Thornton co-experimented in the perfecting of a steamboat.

“My Dear Sir,

“How I pity & lament the very severe affliction you must have experienced in the extreme illness of my beloved child. I feel most exquisitely for myself & you & wish I had been present to have mitigated your distress. My fears are not yet subsided tho’ you assure me of her convalescence, as relapses are common & dangerous, & till I receive your next letter shall be miserable.—Your extreme & unequalled watchfulness & attention towards her evince the goodness of your heart as well as the love you bear her & attaches me to you by the ties of gratitude as well as the sincerest affection. The thankful acknowledgments of a heart alive to the sentiments of the most lively gratitude, are due to your revered mother for her kind & truly maternal attention & to your father-in-law for his tender compassion & distress. I hope they will be amply compensated by the dutiful & affection(ate) attentions of their recovered daughter-in-law I expect she is blest with gratitude enough to think she can never do enough for persons to whom she is connected by so many endearing ties. I am likewise much concern’d for your health, my Dear Sir, I earnestly hope that your watching may not have brought illness on you as you mention some slight complaints & that you may never have occasion to call forth a proof of Anna’s reciprocal tenderness by a fit of sickness on your part. I hope you will

be very careful of both your healths that I may have the only satisfaction I can enjoy in this world, that seeing you both return in peace & happiness. I am glad scales &c were such as you wished, by this opportunity of Cap^t Brewster I hope you will receive a brass mortar suitable for your purpose with the skins for the painting. I suppose you mean to take your own Portrait as well as Anna's. I wish success to that undertaking as well as to every other in which you may be concerned.

"Your request with respect to the steamboat shall be granted—as I had not heard it mentioned since your departure, I went myself to see where it was, with difficulty I found it, it appeared to me in a very shattered condition, the new boat by the side without the least improvement & I suppose not the better for having been fixed in the ice all winter. in my inquiries for the Boat I heard M^r Fitch was return^d. I found him intending to procure all the intelligence he could concerning it for your satisfaction. He has wrote you the particulars which you will receive with this. From his letter which he brought open with a view to my perusal, I find that you are the vivifying spark that gives life & animation to the steam boat, while you appear'd to abandon it, it remained in an inactive torpor, but your influence will now give it motion & if it ever arrives in the salutary climate of the Mississippi it may acquire additional vigor. I sent to M^r Stockton to let him know of this opportunity but as M^r Fitch says he may be too lazy to write as well as to act, M^r Wells is not in town, but I have seen M^r Brooks & told him your intentions, & suppose I shall be call'd on when M^r Wells returns, but it may be a month or six weeks before I shall be able to pay the money, but you need be under no apprehensions concerning it, as I shall make it a matter of conscience to fulfill your engagements.

"The mortar has been sent home & I am quite mortified to see such a clumsy, rough, ugly thing. I have sent it back to be polished, but I am sure they can never make it such a one as you will expect to see. My comp^{ts}. to M. Rivardy. I am much obliged to him for his kind intention, but am sorry

he should object to send his letters because in two languages to be sure if he had written it in the learned languages I should have been obliged to seek an interpreter, but as it was there could be no reason for with-holding what would have given me pleasure. I think myself much obliged for his kind attention & hope next time he makes the attempt it will be less study.

"Please to give my best compliments to your Brother with many thanks for the kind interest he takes in the health & welfare of one so dear to us both & may her health be perfectly reestablished & your happiness in each other always continue is the earnest & hourly prayers of one who is, in all sincerity

Your most affectionately
devoted Mother

A. BRODEAU."

May 4th, 1791."

My Dear Sir,

By Mr. Hennessy you will receive this to whom in compliance with your request I should have been very happy to have shown all the civility possible, but he would not avail himself of the general invitation I gave him, neither of all the particular ones. I invited several of my young friends that he might see some of the Phil^a. Ladies, with whom he appeared well pleased. I made other invitations afterwards on his account but he pleaded engagements & I have not been able to be civil to him as I wished, he appears an intelligent young man, but too diffident to be perfectly at his ease among so many girls, and as he supposed he should find others at my house, he did not find it agreeable to come.

I heard that Mr. Voights was making a model of the steam boat that it was finished and was to be sent into the company next day so thought I would go & see it, but to my surprise when I came there the model was of a horse boat, to be worked with four horses within side which are to turn a wheel in the middle of the boat, that wheel

to operate on paddles at the end of the Boat like a steam boat. Mr Matlach was examining it at the time I went & said that it appeared to him constructed on a better plan & seem'd more add^equate to the purpose of navigating the Mississippi than any he had yet seen, some of the assembly were to see it with a view to get a patent, to me there appears many inconveniences, if it is meant simply for passengers. Four horses & forage for them, will take a great deal of room & be disagreeable companions, & it cannot be meant to carry merchandise as the boat is to consist of two linked together & the depth of water to be no greater than that of a canoe. From the foregoing I suppose you will guess the fate of the Steam Boat. I told him who I was & asked him to give me an account of the steam boat as I was going to write to you & wished you to be informed how they were going on, & I did not know where to find Mr. Fitch, he gave me a long account of their proceedings, but told me if I would inclose it to you he would write an ample account of it, for it was a shame that gentlemen who had contributed their money & were absent should be imposed on, so I shall say no more, as I expect to get the account from him to inclose in this.

Since I wrote last I heard that your friend Count Andriani was gone to lake Champlain & was getting a vessel constructed with a view to the navigation of that lake. I hear he has discredit(ed) himself in the minds of many people here who had treated him with the greatest deference, by having written as they say to some friends in Europe a very unjust & degrading account of the people of America with some things disrespectful of Gen. W. which letter were put into the hands of Col. Humphreys, resident in Portugal who, they say, has transmitted copies to Gen. W. & it is thought if he attempts to visit Phil^a. again he will meet with a very different reception, & they say an absolute refusal of admission to the presence of Gen: W: they complain much of his supercilious & contemptuous behaviour to people in general as if he supposed himself of a superior order of beings, his Plan for the building of a meeting-house

has never been put in execution nor ever will I imagine. I think I told you in my last of the opposition the Players had met with in their design to purchase a lot of Mr Bingham's & again of one in the neighborhood belonging to Palatiah Webster, but I hear they have succeeded at last & bought one of a Quaker Preacher of your acquaintance, they got a third person to negotiate for the lot & he succeeded they were to pay £6000 for it, it was no sooner known that it was for the players than Mr John Dickinson of Wilmington^{ton} (for that was the man) was pestered with remonstrances from all the persons in the neighborhood, Mr Phil: Dickinson, Mr Laurence Mr Climer & several others who thought they should be contaminated by having a play house in their neighborhood & they say he is yet struggling between interest & fame the deeds not being absolutely signed when the remonstrance arrived, it is supposed that avarice will triumph as it is not likely that any other person will give so great a price, the lot is joining his own house the corner of Chestnut & Sixth streets.

The date of your last letter is the 10th of August which is almost two months & if I do not hear every month or five weeks I am almost in despair, I was happy by that letter to hear that you & Anna were well & that she was in such good spirits. I hope they will continue & that I shall have ocular demonstration of it in the Spring, if I had not that hope life would be (a) burden that I should be glad to through down. My best respects attend your kind relations & I am with every sentiment of affection

& esteem your devoted Mother

A BRODEAU.

Philadelphia Sunday Oct 2^d 1791"

It is said that Dr. Thornton and Count Andriani, a naturalist, traveled in company in Europe. The Count, on this continent, mailed a message to "my very dear friend," the Doctor, from New York, July 2, 1790. To the disparagement by the Count to American appertaining, communicated by Col. Humphreys,



MRS. ANN BRODEAU.

London, October 31st, 1790, General Washington writes:

TO DAVID HUMPHREYS.

PHILADELPHIA, 16 MARCH, 1791.

"My Dear Sir,

* * *

"The remarks of a foreign Count are such as do no credit to his judgment, and as little to his heart. They are the superficial observations of a few months residence, and an insult to the inhabitants of a country, where he has received more attention and courtesy than he seems to merit."

Dr. and Mrs. Thornton returned two weeks before the stated date, November 16, 1792. Mrs. Brodeau had a furnished house in readiness for them; the furnishings cost \$2219; and the house was 159 Chestnut Street. Here the family of three lived for six months and after for two years in the directory "in Callowhill Street near the Ridge Road" but out of the directory known as Mud Hill.

The Commissioners for the Federal City had March 14, 1792, advertised for competitive plans for the Capitol and the President's House. That of James Hoban for the President's House was acceptable and accepted. The numerous plans for the Capitol were none unobjectionable; some had merit; some were utterly lacking; some grotesque. From Tortola, October, 1792, came the request of Dr. Thornton for permission to submit drawings under the first advertisement.

And the sequent communication is:

GEORGE TOWN Nov^r. 15th, 1792.

Sir,

Yr favor of the 9th Instant came to my hands by the last post—The Commissioners had received yours from Tortola—They will meet on the first of next Month—but do not expect Mr Johnson will be present at that time—We shall be glad

however to receive your plan for the Capitol, & wish you may find a convenient opportunity of forwarding it to us by the 1st of next Month—A choice has been made for the Presidents House—When we have a full Board & take into consideration again the subject of the Capitol you will hear from us what may occur, & you will then judge whether to pay us a visit on that subject—please to present my compliments to Judge Turner—I hope he received the letter written to him by Mr. Orr, member of Congress from Kentucky—It gives me pleasure to have the occasion of assuring you that I am with esteem,

Sir,

Yr most ob Hble Serv^t

DAN^L. CARROLL

On December 4, (1792) the Commissioners to Thornton spoke well of the plan and the President, Philadelphia, March 3, 1793, writes:

“Grandeur Simplicity and Convenience, appear to be so well Combined in this plan of Doctor Thornton’s, that I have no doubt of its meeting that approbation from you, which I have given it upon an attentive inspection, and which it has received from all those who have seen it and are considered Judges of such things.”

Dr. Thornton made his first visit to Washington early in March, 1793. He came with a letter of introduction, dated the 3d. of that month, from the President.⁴

GEORGETOWN, APRIL 5, 1793.

Sir: The President has given his formal approbation of your plan. You will therefore be pleased to grant powers or put the business in a way to be closed on the acknowledgments of your success entitle you.

“As soon as the nature of the work and your convenience will permit, we wish to be in possession of your explanations

⁴A History of the National Capital, W. B. Bryan.

with the plan, for we wish to mark out the ground, make preparations, and even lay out the foundations this fall.

We are, etc,

T. JOHNSON

D^d. STUART

DAN^l. CARROLL

D^r Wm. Thornton, Philadelphia.

The prize was \$500 and a lot of the value of £100. Dr. Thornton declined the superintendence because of the requirement of time. I understand the drawings were made in Tortola. Glenn Brown, the local architect and the author of the superb "History of the United States Capitol," is the authority that the Thornton scheme "forms the nucleus of the present structure." I take it the original plan was not essentially changed.

Upon the acceptance of the plan, Dr. Thornton "threw out an idea" that a figure of Columbus ornament the eastern plaza of the Capitol grounds. The idea was pleasing, but it did not come to more than a mental image in the time of the Doctor.

"The President of the United States is much obliged by Doct^r. Thornton's polite attentions and prays him to accept his thanks for the Treatise on the Elements of written language.

The President is sorry to hear of the Doctors indisposition.—A speedy and perfect recovery is wished.

Saturday 8th June
1793."

"Th: Jefferson, with his compliments to D^r. Thornton returns him many thanks for the device of the Mace, & still more for his dissertation on the elements of language which he had read in manuscript with great satisfaction, but shall do it with more in print.

June 11. 93."

The work is almost sufficiently described on the published title page:

Prize Dissertation

which was honored with the Magellanic Gold Medal, by the American Philosophical Society, January, 1793.

Cadmus:

or, a

Treatise on the Elements

of

Written Language.

* * *

With an Essay on the mode of teaching the Surd or Deaf, and consequently Dumb, to speak

By William Thornton, M. D.

Member of the Societies of Scots Antiquaries of Edinburgh and Perth; the Medical Society, and the Society of Natural History of Edin: The American Philosophical Society &c.

Philadelphia:

Printed by R. Aitkin & Son, No 22 Market Street

MDCCXCIII.

The work was written in Tortola. It came a little late for the competition, but Dr. David Rittenhouse, the celebrated astronomer, the president of the society, advocated the acceptance and award. But this is his letter:

Feb. 13 1793.

"To the Author of the paper signed Cadmus
Sir

A meeting of the officers of the Society on friday next will afford an opportunity of determining whether from the circumstances & time of its being presented it can properly come under consideration for the premium this present year. I shall support the affirmation if you think proper to

leave it with me until then. I have perused it with much satisfaction & wish it success most sincerely

Your very humble servant,

D RITTENHOUSE

Wednesday Evening

Glenn Brown says of the mace it was for the State of Virginia and that "he used the rattlesnake as the principal feature because it is peculiarly American, is peaceful until hurt or aroused for self-defense, and only strikes after giving warning.

Gen. Washington to Dr. Thornton, December 3, 1793.

"I have been duly favored with your letter of the 29th ult. and thank you for your obliging offer to supply the office lately occupied by Mr. Lear. I am persuaded it would have been ably filled with your abilities, but previous to the departure of that gentleman, my arrangements were made in favor of Mr. Dandridge, who is now in the exercise of the office of private secretary."

GEN. WASHINGTON TO TOBIAS LEAR.

GERMAN TOWN.

28th. Aug^t. 1794.

Dear Sir,

* * * I pray you to let me know, as far as you may be able to discover, in how respectable a light Doctor Thornton stands, or would be considered by the Proprietors of the Federal City (amongst whom he spent some time in the month of July last). The Doctor is sensible, and indefatigable I am told, in the execution of whatever he engages;—To which may be added his taste for architecture, but being little known doubts arise on that head."

Dr. Thornton was appointed a Commissioner September 2, 1794. His colleagues at the appointment-time were Gustavus Scott and Alexander White. And acknowledging again Mr. Brown, is given his observation that the records of the commission from his

coming were more orderly kept; and, his opinion, that the building regulations promulgated, July 20, 1795, were of the Doctor's framing.

He, with the other Commissioners, recommended to the President an appropriation for a National University on an extended plan to be within the reservation of nineteen acres to the west of squares 60, 61, 62, and 63, at the time set apart for a fort and barracks and subsequently for an observatory (July 9 and November 18, 1796).

Maj. L'Enfant's tentative plan had more "radial" streets or avenues than the permanent has. Wisely, President Washington used the blue pencil. Wise, because less diminutive *squares* are made by convergence of thoroughfares to be cut up and used so that unsightly sheds and fences back on street fronts or adjoin a front door. The wisdom of Dr. Thornton is shown in his antagonism to the assignment of these small spaces to the proprietors. Notwithstanding the approval of his contention by General Washington, he lost; the two other Commissioners favored the proprietors.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, May 31 1799.

Sir:

"Finding that the Board of Commissioners were exceedingly urged by Mr. George Walker to lay off and divide certain small portions of ground within the lines of his property, between the intersection of various avenues and streets, which do not appear in the general plan of the city to have ever been designed for private occupancy, and perceiving the Board were disposed to adopt the proposal, I declared the measure expressly contrary to the intention of the late President of the United States, and accordingly wrote a formal protest, setting forth the injury that the city would sustain by admitting a principle which would induce every proprietor to make similar claims, and requested that the

Board would not sanction the divisions, by signature, until the opinion of the late President should be fully known, if any hesitation remained on the minds of my colleagues, after the perusal of your letters of the 26th of December, 1796, and the 27th of February, 1797. Those letters explain clearly, in my opinion, the sentiments I have repeatedly heard you express; but lest your opinion may be misconstrued, in a point so essential to the future benefit of the city, I request you will pardon me for making so free as to solicit a further declaration of your former opinions if they can be more explicit.

“There is, perhaps, one point that may be considered to be omitted. I mean the declarations of those portions as appropriations; for although many of them are very small, not containing a standard lot, and, if occupied by private individuals, might justly be considered nuisances; yet if appropriated to the public use, they would not only be highly useful, but also ornamental, as they would serve for churches, temples, infirmaries, public academies, dispensaries, markets, public walks, fountains, statues, obelisks, etc., and if the whole were to be paid for as appropriations, they amount to only 381,683 square feet, or eight acres, at £25, making £200. The only doubt remaining in the minds of the Commissioners relative to these portions of ground, was the power of non-insertion, but it appears to me that their not having been inserted leaves them exactly in the same predicament as the other portions of the city intended for appropriations, but neither yet expressly designated as appropriations, nor even as reservations. They may be considered as reservations, because the points of squares have been cut off, and these latter therefore, are rendered by your declaration of 26th of December, 1796, subject to payment, and consequently to public appropriation.

“If no objection can be made to this, which, indeed, is warranted by the deeds of trust, surely less validity must be given to objections against the adoption of areas, heretofore considered only as streets, which, by adoption, will be paid for and rendered highly useful and ornamental. If any

objection can arise, it has been justly observed in your letter last quoted that they might with equal propriety ask payment for streets, for these spaces differ in nothing from the avenues but in extent, and every avenue might, by parity of claim, be reduced to a street or be charged to the public. No individual has ever contended for the insertion of these irregular portions, except Mr. George Walker, but the principle being admitted, the right will be universally claimed. Many have sold lots fronting on open spaces; the map of the city has been published without them, and complaints of injustice will certainly be made by persons who have purchased, if these spaces be filled up by private lots, besides, these insertions not accompanying the maps now dispersed, strangers might be liable to continual impositions by purchasing lots apparently on open areas on the map, but in reality only fronting stables or greater nuisances, for these lots are too small to admit of houses all round and conveniences within; so that it appears not only against the plan of the city to insert them (unless for public appropriations, which I should advocate), but it would be highly unjust to individuals, as well those who may purchase, as those who become proprietors, and it would materially injure the convenience of the city by occupying for private purposes those places so easy of access and so necessary for the public.

I have the honor to be, sir, with sincere regard, your very respectful friend, etc.,

WILLIAM THORNTON.

General Washington.

FEDERAL CITY, June 1, 1799.

Sir:

In replying to your letter of yesterday's date, I must beg leave to premise that when I left the chair of government it was with a determination not to intermeddle in any public matter which did not immediately concern me, and that I have felt no disposition since to alter this determination. But as you have requested that I would give you my ideas on a certain point which seems to have occupied the

attention of the Board of Commissioners, and on which I presume my letters to that body (whilst I had the honor to administer the Government) have not been so clear and explicit as it was my intention to be, I have no hesitation in declaring (unless I have entirely forgotten all recollection of the fact) that it has always been my invariable opinion, and remain still to be so, that no departure from the engraved plan of the city ought to be allowed, unless imperious necessity should require it, or some great public good is to be promoted thereby. Minor considerations contribute to this opinion, but the primary and to my mind unanswerable one, is, that after the original plan (with some alterations) had been adopted, ordered to be engraved, and published, and was transmitted to several, if not to all our public agents abroad, for the purpose of inviting purchasers, it would, for reasons too obvious and cogent to require illustration, be deceptions to lay off lots for private purposes, where none appeared in a plan which was intended to inform, aid, and direct the judgment of foreigners and others, who could not, on the premises, make a choice.

It is not difficult to form an opinion of the way of thinking and views of others by one's own, under similar circumstances, I declare then, without reserve, that if I had made choice of a site for a house on open area in the published map, occasioned by the intersection of the avenues, and an angle thereof should afterward be filled up in a manner I might not approve, I should not scruple to complain of both the deception and injury.

But I am straying from my purpose, which was no more than simply to say (if I am not, as before mentioned, greatly forgetful), that I have never had but one opinion on this subject, and that is, that nothing ought to justify a departure from the engraved plan, but the probability of some great public benefit, or unavoidable necessity.

With great esteem and regard, I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

William Thornton, Esq.

Dr. Thornton, with the other Commissioners, successfully negotiated loans with the Bank of Columbia, in Georgetown, for the completion of the public buildings and to continue other public improvements. With the letter of Scott and Thornton, dated October 16, 1799, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is this:

COMMISSIONERS' OFFICE, 19th: May 1802

Gentlemen

In consequence of not observing the Time when our Note in Bank would become due, we did not renew it on the last Day of your meeting, & have to request the Indulgence of your accepting the note we have now drawn.—The Discount you will please to debit our Deposit with.—

As we suppose this will be the last note which, as a Board we shall present to the Bank, we think it proper to tender to you our acknowledgments for the liberality we have always experienced from you.—

We are Gentlemen
with great respect yr. &c

WILLIAM THORNTON—
ALEX WHITE
TRISTAM DALTON

President & Directors
of the Bank of Columbia

Dr. Thornton located in Georgetown. Georgetown was no longer in Maryland, yet somewhere it was; so the Doctor sometimes began his letter: "George Town, Columbia," other times, "George Town, Potomac"—January 21, 1795. "Wm. Thornton offers for sale the brick house opposite the Bank of Columbia lately occupied by the subscriber (now removed to the city of Washington)" *Centinel of Liberty*, March 17, 1797. The house is described by the Doctor in another advertisement, as containing four rooms, one eighteen by twenty feet, three guest rooms, a kitchen and back



RESIDENCE OF DR. WILLIAM THORNTON.
3221 Bridge Street.



building with three rooms. It is on the north side of M street and numbered 3221. M street, heretofore called Bridge street, was, in the Doctor's time, Falls street. From Samuel Blodget, July 9, 1796, as tenant, he took possession of lot 7 in square 253 and from him, afterwards, as owner. Here he lived until he lived no more. The site is 1331 F street.

Nowadays those who have it easy in the city, look for trouble in the country and they think themselves especially equipped

"To plough, to plant, to reap, to sow."—Chaucer.

Dr. Thornton acquired a country seat on either side of the Frederick town road, 573 A, and called it Park Grove; and he wrote to General Washington: "I know as a farmer." With his vaunt of farmer-knowledge were his thanks for the three scaly barked hickories. "As soon as I got the Trees, I planted them myself with great care, for I value them as Trees, but a thousand times more as your Gift."—March 18, 1799. The Doctor's farm dwelling was on the site where is that of M. Willson Offutt, Esq., at Bethesda, Maryland. It was frame, one and a half stories, two rooms on lower floor, one on upper.

The Doctor had a city garden at the southeast corner of New York avenue and Eighteenth street, opposite The Octagon, twelve original lots (square 171, lots 1 to 5, 15 to 21) for buckwheat and other table supplies.

Dr. Thornton was a keeper of sheep as well as tiller of the ground. The bleating of the sheep was music to his ears, but whether their product filled his purse is to be doubted. Other public men had the merino mania. Mr. Jefferson and Dr. Thornton improved their folds by correspondence. Chief Justice Cranch had his farm near Alexandria. The Judge and the

Doctor in partnership raised sheep (1810) and the Judge's father reported the witticism of the elder Adams:

"Your uncle, the late president, desired me to send his love to you, and hopes that your attention to your sheep will not take off your mind from the woollack."

Dr. Thornton was an ardent abolitionist. In Tortola he presented a petition which begins:

"February 22, 1791.

To the honorable the President and Members of the Council of the Virgin Islands.—

Conceiving it to be my Duty to attend to a particular Call of Humanity which leads me to attempt a settlement of free People at Sierra Leona in Africa and finding some European Nations, as also America desirous of forming such an Establishment."

He carried on a correspondence with like champions in England and particularly with the Society of the Friends of the Blacks (*Société des amis des noirs*), of which Jacques Pierre Brissot was president, and Clavière, Mirabeau, La Fayette and Volney were members. Dr. Thornton was a strong supporter of the American Colonization Society. It is true that in 1795 he bought Joseph and Joe, negroes, with a warranty of soundness, but that was different—it was to give them a home on the farm.

The Doctor was in Philadelphia and received from the President's private secretary:

"Bⁿ. Dandridge presents compliments to Doct^r Thornton & by the Presidents direction asks the pleasure of his company at tea this Evening 7 o'Clock in a *family way*.

"Monday, 30 Mar." (1795)

General Washington in a game of billiards stopped his play to laugh at the Doctor's poetic shot. The Doc-

tor asked the General how far a cannon, a term in billiards, would carry, for on the heights of Dover is a very long cannon called Queen Anne's Pocket Pistol, inscribed

"Charge me well and keep me clean
I'll carry o'er to Calais Green."

As it is twenty-one miles over, the General laughingly observed, "Upon my word, Doctor, that would be a very long shot."

Dr. Thornton was proud of the intimacy with General Washington, of his confidence in his integrity and regard for his ability.

Dr. Thornton made the plans and supervised the building of the two residences on North Capitol Street for General Washington. From the General on the 8th of December, 1799, antedating his death six days, he received the thirty-fourth letter.

To General Marshall,⁵ M. H. R., Philadelphia, January 2, 1800, he expressed the hope that the remains would be placed "in the Center of that national Temple which he approved of for the Capitol"; and "Here, in the center of the intended Dome is the point from which we calculate our Longitudes &c. for here I presume the Congress mean to place the Body of the beloved & lamented Chief."

Dr. Thornton first proposed a Washington Monument. Among his private papers is the plan—U. S. Capitol, Glenn Brown.

The Doctor voted in Bladensburgh, 1800, for the Presidential electors.

The Doctor's traits were strong. He was hospitable. His hospitality was one hundred per cent. It had no alloy of selfishness. He did not wait the coming

⁵The Chief Justice.

guest. He ran to meet him. To M. Volney, the French traveler, he quickly writes:

George Town, Dec 15th, 1795.

"I will first congratulate you on your safe arrival in America; then felicitate my Country on having you in its bosom."

M. Volney replied promptly, January 9, 1796, and came along promptly with a letter from James Madison, Jr., to the Doctor, Philadelphia, May 5, 1796:

"He is on a ramble southwardly & will make your nascent metropolis a resting place of his observations for a few days."

Many are the letters from M. Volney to the Doctor. He was Comte Constantin François de Chasseboeuf de Volney; but economically he signed C. Volney.

"Phila^d May 29, 1804

"William Thornton, M. D.

Washington

D Sir Mr Peale D Fothergill & D Collins, with the famous traveller Humbold & two of his Companions de Voyage visit your city.

JN^o VAUGHAN.

The eminent explorer to the Doctor acknowledged "You and your charming wife have heaped with kindness during my sojourn at Washington."

"*Mon respectable ami*

* * * J'ai lu à Lancaster Notre memoire sur les Esclaves et Votre Cadmus, le premier fait autant d'honneur a Votre sensibilité que le second est rempli d'idées neuves et ingénieuses. Le célèbre Darwin a traité recemment (1804) ce même sujet des lettres et des sont son Poème the Temple of Nature (V. additional Notes) mais Votre Système est bien plus simple que le sien.

HUMBOLDT

Philadelphie ce 20 Juin 1804

Said again the Baron—always in French—

“You are the most obliging, the most serviceable, the most amiable of all men. Helas! that I have caused you so much trouble. * * *

Mon respectable ami
v. t. h. et t. ob

HUMBOLDT

à Philadelphie
ce 27 Juin
1804

Please give my regards to the friendly Mrs. Thornton and to her mother. Offer my modest thanks to Mr. Merry who was kind to me and especially to Mr. Madison to whom I shall be strongly attached.”

Mrs. Merry, the British Minister’s wife to Tom Moore, the poet, says: “Mr. Thornton was indefatigable in his endeavors to procure us every comfort. He is *quiet*, sensible, well-informed man, without brilliancy, or elocution. Well educated and full of information, which he details slowly from a natural impediment in his speech.”

I am not taking the opportunity for elaboration. I simply compare the Doctor’s enthusiasm to an overflowing fountain. Here is what Oliver Wolcott on Independence Day, 1800, tells his wife about it.

“There appears to be a confident expectation that this place will soon exceed any in the world. Mr. Thornton, one of the Commissioners, spoke of a population of 160,000 people, as a matter of course, in a few years. No stranger can be here a day and converse with the proprietors, without conceiving himself in the company of crazy people. Their ignorance of the rest of the world, and their delusions with respect to their own prospects, are without parallel.”

Dr. Thornton’s optimism in the fire insurance company he organized in 1801 is to be observed. Its title

was Washington Association, and United States Insurance Company. Its capital was \$2,000,000, proposed of course, one half payable in city lots. From the prospectus of the President, the Doctor, is the sentence: "It would be superfluous to point out the utility of promoting a security against losses, to which every one is liable, and by which many now wander in misery without homes." The sign on the office opposite the U. S. Treasury was soon taken down—(*National Intelligencer*, August 31, 1801.)

The Doctor knew it was necessary to provide for the material that the mental and moral might be maintained and he proposed a meeting of subscribers "for the erection of A Market House near the Hotel Bridge and Pennsylvania avenue. It is the site of the Center Market.

National Intelligencer,

WASHINGTON, July 15, 1801.

At a meeting this day at Mr. Rhodes's Hotel, of several of the subscribers to a MARKET, to be built on Pennsylvania Avenue, agreeably to advertisement, the following resolutions were adopted, viz.:

1st. That Edward Eno be authorized to collect the subscriptions.

2d. That William Brent be appointed Treasurer.

3d. That James Hoban and Clotworthy Stephenson be appointed a committee to carry into execution the building according to a specification and plan left at the Commissioners Office.

W. THORNTON

In behalf and at the request of the subscribers

It is to add illustration of the Doctor's Sellarian dreams to take a sentence from his prospectus of The North Carolina Gold Mine Company: (Stanley County).

"If the returns of gold be such as I now contemplate; I doubt not that every share will sell in a short time for many hundreds per cent. in advance."⁶

Dr. Thornton's partiality was such that in intervals of health he praised the salubrity of the Washington climate. He rushed to the desk when he heard Mr. Madison was appointed Secretary of State and this to him he wrote:

"The President, whose tender regard for you makes him always speak with an uncommon degree of Interest for your welfare informed me that you had long experienced delicate Health, and he even feared a change of climate might finally be requisite. I do not think I ever enjoyed such Health as since my residence in this place, and I sincerely hope that even this Change from your present situation may be so favorable, that you will have cause to pronounce it one of the healthiest places in the world."

Dr. Thornton was the self-constituted chairman of the committee on public comfort, he was all of the committee. Dr. and Mrs. Thornton made a welcoming visit to Mr. and Mrs. Samuel H. Smith, bride and groom, at Stelle's, October 24, 1800, and not many days thereafter the new couple established themselves as housekeepers in one of the Ten Buildings on New Jersey avenue between D and E street, southeast; and Mr. Smith opened there a printing office and began the publication of the *National Intelligencer*.⁷

"Dr. T. invited him to lodge with us."⁸ Him is General John Marshall and the time of invitation, June 9, 1800. The General, who was to be the Chief Justice, reserved his decision until the twenty-fifth. "He con-

⁶In the document, February 6, 1806, are the autographs of the trustees, Daniel Carroll, of Duddington, Philip B. Key, Thomas Peter, John Tayloe, Thomas Tingey and John Weems, M. D.

⁷A History of the National Capital, W. B. Bryan.

⁸Diary of Mrs. Thornton.

cluded to take a house, as he thought his family of servants wou'd make it disagreeable to us''^s He got a residence for Mr. Madison and as it was in course of completion he could have it arranged to Mr. Madison's requirements. The wine cellar was enlarged. The Madisons and Thorntons were next door neighbors for eight years and it was daily visiting. When the Madisons moved into the President's House, the Thorntons bought their dining room furniture and continued to eat at the same table.

Dr. Thornton was over sensitive. This trait made him suspicious and jealous and he saw slights not intended and took umbrage at trivialities. Letters to this proof I will not quote, but the amiable Mrs. Madison quite frequently reassured him.

Dr. Thornton, although armed with a degree to deal with disease never did any more harm than the gentle Dr. Goldsmith.⁹ With both it was a polished handle to their names. And indeed to "Benjⁿ Stoddert Esq: Secy of the Naval Dept of the U. S. at Phil^a, June 28, 1798," he admits:

"It might indeed appear surprising, that a person educated a Physician, should presume to instruct a Soldier in the art of killing unless it were recollected that a modern Esculapius kills more than a modern Mars."

The Doctor had with assiduity for four years pursued the medical courses and could not doubt his own skill but he may have doubted his ability to catch that psychological moment to present his bill when the patient about reaching the goal of restoration recognizes with gratitude the physician's skill, for when the patient passes that moment he rather thinks the restora-

⁹"Dr. T. does not practice Physic but could not refuse to go,"
Diary of Mrs. Thornton, June 3, 1800.

tion was less from skill of the physician and more from his merited favor with Providence.

Dr. Thornton was an artist. His miniatures are the limit of skill. His still-lives are correct counterfeits. He limned the features of Washington, of Jefferson, of Dolly Madison, of himself and of his wife.

What his pupillage as an artist was, I know not, save the suggestion of the card:

“Monday 19 Day of Jany 1784.

Admit to the Lecture this Evening

Mr. Thornton

Royal Academy London

V: Green R A.

Gilbert Stuart painted three portraits of Thomas Jefferson. Two were executed in the city of Washington, and of these two, is the famous profile in monochrome. Jefferson writes to Joseph Delaphine, in 1813, that it is “in water color”; and six years later, to General Dearborn that Stuart did it “on paper with crayon.” Dr. Thornton who copied it calls it “a drawing.” The Doctor’s copy is owned by Fred. B. McGuire, Esq. General Kosciuszko attempted a portrait of Jefferson and Dr. Thornton, July 20, 1816, writes:

“Never was such injustice done to you except by sign painters and General Kosciuszko, than which last nothing can be so bad, and when I saw it I did not wonder that he lost Poland—not that it is necessary that a general should be a painter, but he should be a man of such sense as to discover he is not a painter.”¹⁰

Dr. Thornton was a self-instructed architect. Autobiographically says he, October 12, 1802:

“I saw a publication for a plan of a public library in Philadelphia offering a premium for the best.

“When I trevelled I never thought of architecture. But

¹⁰The *Washington Times*, September 15, 1901.

I got some books and worked a few days, then gave a plan in the ancient Ionic order, which carried the day.

"The president and secretary of state published a premium of a gold medal of \$500 and a lot for a house in the city of Washington for the best plan and elevation of a capitol of the United States. I lamented not having studied architecture, and resolved to attempt the grand undertaking and study at the same time. I studied some months and worked almost night and day, but I found I was opposed by regular architects from France and various other countries."

The examples of Dr. Thornton's architecture within the District of Columbia are The Octagon, Tudor Place and Brentwood. He planned a church for Bishop John Carroll in 1800 to be built in Baltimore. The historic Octagon, built by John Tayloe, the temporary Executive Mansion in Madison's administration, is the admiration of architects and the permanent home of their institute. Montpelier with the Thornton modifications is of the most perfectly proportioned country homes in the land. He gave Mr. Laurence Lewis, the husband of Nelly Custis, the plan for Woodlawn near Mount Vernon.¹¹

That Dr. Thornton designed the University of Virginia has the evidence of Mr. Jefferson's letter enclosing his own preliminary sketch of the grounds.

"Monticello May 9, 17

Dear Sir

"We are commencing here the establishment of a college, and instead of building a magnificent house which would exhaust all our funds, we propose to lay off a square of about 7. or 800. f. on the outside of which we shall arrange separate pavilions, one for each professor and his scholars.

* * *

"Will you set your imagination to work and sketch some

¹¹Diary of Mrs. Thornton, August 4, 1800.

designs for us no matter how loosely with the pen, without the trouble of referring to scale or rule; for we want nothing but the outline of the architecture, as the internal must be arranged according to local convenience, a few sketches such as need not take you a moment will greatly oblige us.

* * *

"I salute you with friendship and respect."

Dr. Thornton was an author. His novels he did not entrust to publishers. His "Outlines of a Constitution for United North and South Columbia," proposed a grand government for the two continents with the capital or "the city of America" on the "healthy hills that intersect the Isthmus or near Panama and where a canal may be made from sea to sea, by locks." His "Political Economy: Founded in Justice and Humanity. In a Letter to a Friend" had Mr. Madison as the friend. It advocated the abolition of slavery.

Dr. Thornton was a poet. His poetry might not have gained him celebrity, nevertheless, the brilliant John Randolph of Roanoke matched with the Doctor's rhymes, two pages of his prose.

"Received this 17th day of January, 1820, of Dr. William Thornton, two M. S. pages of current Rhyme for which I bind myself to make payment in good & lawful prose at a rate of exchange to be settled (in case of disagreement between the parties) by referees to be by them chosen.

His
Johns X Randolph of Roanoke.
Mark

Witness

C. F. Mercer

To Mayor Brent, the Doctor sent his man. His man had the message in measure:

April 12, 1811

TO THE GOOD PEOPLE.

Pray let the Bearer, Peter, pass,
 He rides a Horse, & leads an ass—
 This is the *Vicar* fam'd of *Bray*
 He goes, at Mr Brent's to stay
 Peter returns, without delay

TO PETER

If any one you chance to meet
 Stay not to talk, but pass & greet,
 And neither give nor take a treat

Dr. Thornton was a magistrate. In the reign of terror in France, in jail was General Louis Marie Turreau de Garambouville. On the door of his cell was the chalk which marked him for the morrow's exercises. The daughter of the jailor compassionately removed the chalk and the General remained, remained to be the French Minister to the United States and to marry the jailor's daughter and take her with him. It was an act of gratitude which proved an act of ingratitude. Said Mrs. Madison: "I have heard said dreadful things of Turreau—that he whips his wife, and abuses her dreadfully; I pity her sincerely; she is an amiable and sensible woman." (June 4, 1805). The General had as attaché the talented Count de Carbre. The Count with the flute could translate the passions. With the flute he tried to drown Mme. Turreau's outcries of pain. A year and a half after Mrs. Madison's letter came the Turreau climax.

Declared the General in writing:

October 29, 1806.

"I declare positively that after many refusals of Madame Turreau to pass into France, according to my order as her

Husband as well as Minister Plenipotentiary of his Imperial and royal majesty, my Intention was to employ force to oblige her to go thither; that consequently after preparing for her passing in a vessel (at Annapolis). I gave her repeated orders to depart, when her Cries, in spite of my endeavours to pacify her, drew a Crowd of (American) Citizens round my House; and notwithstanding my public character as Minister to France & the Privileges derived from it, I went to the Door of my House, and then a magistrate who was among them told me that the People had assembled in consequence of hearing a noise in my House; on which I requested him to walk into my House and see the interior, in order to satisfy his Fellow Citizens."

The written declaration of the magistrate, in part, is:

"In consequence of the above Invitation given to the before mentioned magistrate (W. T.) and also to W^m P Gardner last night abt ten o'clock—we went into the House of the French Minister, and were shewn into an upper Room where we found his Lady with three French Seamen or Soldiers who were prepared to carry her off by force. She declared in Tears, that she claimed the protection of the United States against such violence. The General turned to the seamen and said *mark that, fellow citizens*; she claims the protection of the United States and thus gives up mine.—She said the French Government would not now protect her but she would claim the protection of France after. We interfered in a friendly manner, and begged to know if it would not accord more with the Title of an Officer of the Legion of honor to permit his wife to depart in peace, rather than subject her to the brutal Insults of common sailors, who were ordered to take her by force? It was also mentioned to him by W. T. that the People were waiting in peace to know if an attempt would be made to force her away; for if it should be attempted they said they were determined to liberate her. He said

his men were armed. It was observed the People could not be intimidated, were she guarded by the whole legion of honor, and if a shot were fired it was probable not one of his men would escape alive.—He said the Laws of Nation's would be invaded, and he would call the protection of Government. It was answered the Laws of God & humanity were paramount to the Laws of Nation's; and our Citizens would not put them in competition. * * *

The harrowing detail of separation is omitted, save to say, on bended knees she besought a parting sight of her children and to his peremptory refusal, he only relented, and that at the entreaties of her foreign friends in her arms "to take the sucking child." She departed from the house, the corner of the Seven Buildings (Pennsylvania avenue and 19th street) with the magistrate and his associate.

The outcome of Latrobe's appointment as architect of the Capitol was a controversy. To controvert a communication to the Committee of Congress (H. R.) by Latrobe, Thornton issued a pamphlet. It is in a bound volume owned and indexed by Jefferson. Latrobe's animosity towards Thornton was inherited by his son, John H. B. Latrobe; the inheritance is exhibited in the published address before the American Institute of Architects (1881). In the Library of Congress is an envelope marked:

November 5, 1907:

"*Private Papers of Dr. Wm. Thornton relating to the controversy with Benj. H. Latrobe—with regard to Mr. Latrobe's proposed alteration of the Doctor's plans in building the Capitol, said papers given to the Library of Congress, with others of Dr. Thornton's by J Henley Smith with the condition that these particular papers as contained in this package shall not be opened until the year 1925—*"

Latrobe, in a lawsuit, alleged damages at \$10,000, they were assessed at one cent.¹²

The Doctor was also the defendant in a suit for the recovery of \$3,000 he received for his celebrated racer, Rattler. It was in this connection he was the butt of the couplet:

“With his horses unfed, he loses his races,
With his lawyers unfeed, he loses his cases.”

Dr. Thornton had a love for horses. Their names made a catalogue. With the wife he took, he took her mother. It is whispered the Doctor stood in awe both of his wife and his mother-in-law—allies in taking the domestic reins in their hands. On the same authority, the petticoat alliance opposed the Doctor's passion to take chances on the turf. The latter assertion, at least, is subject to doubt for Mrs. Thornton kept at all times a roster of the Doctor's thoroughbreds and never failed of a chance to write in her diary—“Went to the races.” The triangle of harmony between the mother, the mother's daughter, and the daughter's husband, made envy for the envious. Of the stable, Eclipse Herod, was the Doctor's pride. Eclipse sickened, Dr. Thornton was no horse doctor and the horse died. He was buried like a human, with solemnity and sadness.

Dr. Thornton established the race course. It was on Columbia road just west of 14th street. Everybody went to the races. Said a Congressman, Dr. Mitchell:

¹²* * * “When Latrobe was in the city on the business of the proposed naval dry docks, Dr. Thornton stated Latrobe ‘often complimented me on the plan of the capitol’ * * * In an addenda to his pamphlet, Latrobe declares that this remark to Thornton ‘was only one of my polite ambiguities and I only said so to flatter him into a friendly wish to see me appointed (surveyor of public buildings) for it never was my opinion.’”—A History of the National Capital, W. B. Bryan.

"So keen was the relish for the sport that there was a serious wish of a number of the members to adjourn Congress for a few days. * * * The Senate actually did adjourn for three days, not on account of the races, you will observe, but merely to admit a mason to plaster the ceiling of their chamber which had fallen down a few days before. * * * The sport being over, the great men and the pretty women and the sporting jockeys and the reverend sirs and many of the little folks quitted the field."

Dr. Thornton was a soldier. He was of the militia. He was a cavalry officer, first a lieutenant (1807). He cut such a gallant figure on a spirited steed he was made a captain (1811). Way in front he rode on inaugural days. For the day of parade came the day of protection. The Doctor was English and of the Society of Friends, but his Lancashire lineage did not lessen ardor for his adopted country or give excuse for cowardice and in the clash between it and Great Britain he promptly put on his sword and mounted his charger. Everybody after the affair at Bladensburg, if not too faint, ran away—the President, his cabinet, his officers. Dr. Thornton remained. The British were on the point of firing the Patent Office, Dr. Thornton plead "that it was the museum of the arts & that it wou'd be loss to all the world." The Patent Office was exempted by the vandals. Dr. Thornton to the President and his council, unadvisedly, recommended no further defense. He was rebuffed. He put on again his sword, called together the defenders. The enemy gone; courage came. And there was the spirit of patriotism:

"Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!"

And a spirit of heroism:

Strike—for your altars and your fires!
Strike—for the green graves of your sires!
God, and your native land!"

And there was a battle royal. The first blow then the fire of ink. Every one fought for himself and the ink-scarred were Dr. Thornton, James H. Blake, the Mayor, Commissioner Tingey, Dr. James Ewell, Commissioner Rodgers, Gen. Winder, Mr. Monroe, the President. So relentless was the unsanguinary strife that Dr. Blake claimed Dr. Thornton was no poet; and Dr. Thornton charged Dr. Blake with cowardice because it happened he had affairs out of the city when the British visited.

In the recess of hostilities were some affiliations between the visiting and the residing British and Dr. Thornton exchanged civilities with Gen. William Thornton.¹³ Dr. Thornton had recourse to the public prints to defend himself against misrepresentations. Even Mrs. Madison gave credit to falsehoods. Mrs. Thornton had called on Mrs. Madison. Mrs. Thornton's journal has that moderation that the scriptural sentiment can be reverently repeated, "Who when he was reviled, reviled not again."

The kindness of the French Minister's wife is disclosed in her reply to Mrs. Thornton:

"Mrs. Serurier had the honour to receive Mrs. Thornton's note. She has given orders to admit in the house Mrs. Barlow's furniture. In case Mrs. Thornton had any thing belonging to herself that she would wish to place in asylum (although she is in hopes that it will be no occasion for it) Mrs. Serurier would be very happy to seize any opportunity she would offer her to be some of service to her."

"Kalorama, August 20th. 1814."

¹³He went to see a namesake, who was wounded and lay ill at Bladensburg and who when he recovered returned his call—these were the only communications he had with the English—Mrs. Thornton, May, 1853.

The scheme of a steamboat which eventuated in success was the thought of John Fitch. His devises and efforts to procure the means of exploitation were partially successful. He began in 1785. Dr. Thornton a couple years later enthusiastically and effectively co-operated with him in experimenting and financing.

Writes Jacques Pierre Brissot de Warville:

“Monday, Sept. 1st, 1788.

* * * I went to see an experiment which was being tried near the Delaware, on board of a boat, the object of which was to ascend rivers against the stream. The inventor was Mr. Fitch. He had formed a company to carry out his enterprise. One of the stockholders and his most zealous advocate, was Dr. Thornton, * * * who I saw was assailed with jokes on account of this steam-boat.

He was annoyed by these pleasantries which appeared to me to be very much out of place. The obstacles which genius is everywhere obliged to surmount, are so considerable, the incentives are so slight, and the necessity in America of supplying demonstration, that I could not without indignation, see the Americans retarding by their sarcasms the generous efforts of one of their fellow citizens.” A Recent Journey in the United States of North America.

Thomas P. Cope, in 7th volume of Hazard’s Register of Pennsylvania has given his recollections:

“Whilst Robert Fulton was thus engaged in London, John Fitch, clock maker, was contriving schemes in Philadelphia for the propulsion of his boats by steam. He conducted his mysterious operations at a projection on the shores of the Delaware, at Kensington, which among the wise and prudent of the neighborhood, the scorers of magicians and their dark works, soon acquired the ominous and fearful title of *Conjurer’s Point*. I often witnessed the performances of the boat in 1788 ’89 and ’90.”

Dr. Thornton in a short account of the origin of steamboats, written in 1810, has this account of a trial trip in Front or Water street, Philadelphia:

“A mile was measured. Every precaution was taken, before witnesses, the time shown to all; the experiment declared to be fairly made, and the boat was found to go at the rate of eight miles an hour, or one mile within the eighth of an hour; on which the shares were signed over, with great satisfaction, by the rest of the company. * * * The Governor and Council of Pennsylvania were so highly gratified with our labours, that without their intentions being previously known to us, Governor Mifflin, attended by the council in procession, presented to the company, and placed in the boat, a superb silk flag, prepared expressly and containing the arms of Pennsylvania.”

Mr. Fitch, in England, deposited the flag with Rufus King who brought it to New York and offered to deliver it to Dr. Thornton.

It appears in Mrs. Brodeau's letter that consequent to Dr. Thornton's marriage and his continuance in Tortola that progress in the promotion of the steamboat flagged.

Mr. Fitch, in France, endeavored to enlist encouragement. And of what there in connection happened is:

Nathaniel Cutting, in a letter to Fernando Fairfax, gives the substance of a conversation with Mr. Vail on the subject:

“Mr. Vail further remarked that he himself was not sufficiently acquainted with mechanics to know whether or not the mechanism now intended to be used by Mr. Fulton was the same in principle with that formerly invented and used by Mr. Fitch; but it might be the same, for aught he knew, for he had lent to Mr. Fulton, at Paris, all the specifications and drawings of Mr. Fitch, and they remained in his possession several months; and doubtless a man of Mr. Fulton's ingenuity would not fail to profit by any new and

useful combination of the mechanical power that he might discover, especially as he supposed no one living would convict him of the plagiarism."

Fitch, broken in spirit and in health, had returned to Bardstown, Kentucky. In (July 2) 1798, for an ailment, a physician prescribed opium at certain hours. The patient correctly reasoned that if he took all at once it would end the ailment. In his will he gave to a "trusty friend" the articles that added to attractiveness of person, to wit: his "Beaver Hat, shoe, knee and stock buckles, walking stick and spectacles;" and the rest and residue of his estate, which was nothing, he gave to Dr. Thornton and three other friends.

Dr. Thornton to Mr. Fulton, December 16, 1807, writes:

"I was engaged in a Steam Boat several years ago projected by the late John Fitch who only conceived the Idea of applying Steam to the propelling of Boats, but had never seen a Steam Engine."

Dr. Thornton's short account of the origin of steam-boats begins:

"Finding that Robert Fulton, whose genius and talents I highly respect, has been by some considered as the inventor of the steam boat, I think it a duty to the memory of the late John Fitch, to set forth with as much brevity as possible, the fallacy of this opinion; and to show, moreover, that if Mr. Fulton has any claim whatever to originality, in his steam boat, it must be exceedingly limited."¹⁴

KALORAMA, January 9, 1811.

To Dr. Thornton:

Dear Sir: Having an unfortunate bile, and being altogether so unwell that I shall probably not be able to go out

¹⁴"Two of Fitch's company and I appeared without counsel, and pleaded our own cause in the assembly of Pennsylvania and after a week's patient hearing against the most learned counsel of Pennsylvania, we obtained a decision in our favour, and afterwards also in Delaware"—In re-Rumsey claim.

of the house in a fortnight, I shall be happy to have some conversation with you on your steamboat inventions and experience. Although I do not see by what means a boat containing one hundred tons of merchandise can be driven six miles an hour in still water, yet when you assert your perfect confidence in such success, there may be something more in your combinations than I am aware of. As such success would be of infinite national importance, I should feel disposed on the principles of patriotism, to give the essay every aid, at the same time to make such an arrangement as would secure you an ample fortune. To prove your principles by practice, it has occurred to me that one of two things may be done: either that you find some one to join you, with funds, to build the boat, and if you succeed to run six miles an hour in still water, with one hundred tons of merchandise, I will contract to reimburse the cost of the boat, and to give you one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for your patent; or, if you can convince me of your success by drawings or demonstrations, I will join you in the expenses and profits. Please to think of this, and have the goodness to let me see or hear from you as soon as possible.

I am, sir, your most obedient,

ROBERT FULTON

To this proposal, Dr. Thornton says that he agreed at once, but Mr. Fulton declined to write the terms. U. S. Patent Office Report, Part 1, p. 370.

Dr. Thornton gives a succinct review:

CITY OF WASH. 20th April 1819
1820.

Sir

My worthy & highly esteemed Friend, the Hon. W^m. Graham is setting out in a few days as Minister, for Rio Janeiro—Thirty years ago I engaged with Mr. John Fitch the original Inventor of Steam Boats, a poor ignorant & illiterate man. We worked for about a year & half, & the Boat did not exceed two or three miles an hour through dead water. I then engaged to make it go at the rate of

eight miles an hour within 18 months or forfeit all my expenditures, provided I might be invested with one quarter if I succeeded. The agreement was made, & in one year I succeeded & obtained a quarter of the whole concern— The first boat was 60 feet long but narrow. A boat was then built rigged schooner fashion to go to New Orleans from Phil^a. of 25 Tons burthen, and calculated to ascend the Mississippi at the rate of 6 miles an hour or to go ten miles in dead water. I went to visit my Mother in the West Indies where I was born, and staid away two years; but on my return I found they had never been able to make her move, & to pay the Debts incurred by this want of success they had sold both the Boats, & the whole apparatus.

I was then obliged to wait till the Patent had expired & take out a patent for my own Invention and Improvements. Ab^t the time the Patent expired Mr. Fulton came to America from Europe, & began a steam boat in conjunction with the late Chancellor Livingston—But Mr. Fulton had seen my papers describing the steam Boat in the hands of one of Fitch's Partners in France, to whom I had sent them, to take out a patent there. Mr. Fulton had a compleat steam engine made in England, which he brought to this country: he brought also a compleat engineer, & had nothing to do but put the works on board to ensure success.

He of course succeeded, but without having invented a single improvement. Success however give him not only all the profits but the eclat of the Invention, with those who were not acquainted with the circumstances.

To Henry Hill }
 Consul, }
 St. Salvador." } .

W. T.

John Quincy Adams says, April 26, 1819, that he called at the Patent Office and found there Dr. Thornton; that he called on the business of a constituent interested in steam appliance. He continues:

"Fulton's steamboats have turned all the projecting heads in that direction. Fulton himself invented little or nothing, but by the aid of Chancellor Livingston's fortune he made the invention of others practically useful. Fulton's patent privilege from nature was enterprise and perseverance. He was doubtless ingenious too, but, I believe, not more so than many ordinary mechanics. * * * He (Dr. Thornton) also told me the whole story of his own steamboat, which actually ran upon the Schuylkill several years before Fulton's but which failed of ultimate success merely by his want of perseverance and pecuniary means."

John F. Watson was the annalist of Philadelphia. He set off his annals in separate subjects. His historical spread he like unto an epicure who his fish garnishes with a sprig of parsley, he did with a bit of poetry. And of the steamboat time, 1830, thus:

"Of each wonderful plan
E'er invented by man,
This nearest perfection approaches—
No longer gee-up and gee-ho,
But fiz—fiz! off we go,
Nine miles to the hour,
With fifty horse-power,
By day time and night time
Arrive at the right time,
Without rumble or jumble
Or chance of a tumble,
As in chaise, gig, or whiskey,
When horses are frisky."

In the credit for the invention, it may be detected that the Doctor at first said *he*; further on, *we*; finally *I*. Exactly what his contribution was, at this distance of time, is not to be determined; likely it was a major part. Fitch conceived, Thornton contributed, Fulton completed. A crown of fame of like lustre let us give to each.

Dr. Thornton was an inventor. His patents are many and principally are in application of steam.* Fernando Fairfax engaged to pay him £2,000 for a quarter interest in his patents.

Dr. Thornton had charge of the patents for the Government from his retirement as commissioner, May, 1802, until his death. He was the first Patent Commissioner. Glenn Brown gives Mr. Campbell's statement "During many years of his superintendency, he freely exercised his discretion in issuing patents. In a communication to the Secretary of State, January 16, 1818, Thornton defined equities and limitations of a reissue as concisely and luminously as ever has been done by any court or text writer." At the present date an opinion of the Commissioner of Patents in his own hand would surprise.

Dept. of State
Patent Office, 8th. April 1809.

Sir,

I have examined your Papers—they are nearly in order for a Patent, except that the Drawing is very bad, * * * be so good as to send it more legible.—Be so good also as to state whether you are a citizen of the U. States, or only a resident for two years, as your citizenship is not mentioned.—I do not think the Invention new, though it varies in some degree from others & may therefore be thought by you an Improvement &, as such, patentable.—

I am,

Sir

very respectfully yr. &c.

Amos Easton, Esq^{re}.

WILLIAM THORNTON.

*List of Dr. Thornton's patented inventions: Improvement in boilers and working stills, October 28, 1802. An improved still, December 13, 1807. Improvement in steamboats and boilers, January 16, 1809. Improvement in ameliorating spirits and mines, etc., September 7, 1809. Improvement in fire-arms, loading at the breech, patented by Dr. Thornton and John S. Hall, of Harpers Ferry, May 21, 1811. Application of steam to flutters and paddles to boats, &c., December 23, 1814. Improvement in cooling water and other liquids, July 31, 1827. Caveat. Casting glasses for telescope, &c., November 4, 1826.

Christian Hines in *Early Recollections of Washington City*, has:

"The flat, or bar, on the south side of the Tiber, and from the Washington Monument, in a westerly direction to near the Potomac channel, and thence in a southerly direction to near the Long Bridge, including within its limits perhaps sixteen or eighteen acres, was, in the early age of the city, taken up and claimed, so it was said, by the late Dr. William Thornton, he having, he thought, the best title thereto, by right of discovery. He calculated that, in a short time, it would be filled up by deposits from the Potomac. To cause it to fill up more speedily than it naturally would, he planted a number of little saplings and bushes along and near the channel, and in various parts of the flat, so as to define the bounds of his domain. These saplings and bushes remained there for a number of years, and some of them until the years 1813 and 1814, when we were encamped on Observatory Hill, for I remember that we used to select the largest of them as targets to fire at when the guard were discharged each morning; but I suppose there is not a sign of them now.

"I was always of the opinion that this flat was either the property of the Corporation of Washington or of the United States,—more probably that of the latter."

The idea of Dr. Thornton took a more concrete form with Dr. John L. Kidwell. He secured a government patent for the Kidwell flats. In a comprehensive litigation, a cause celebre, the United States won under the legal leading of Hugh T. Taggart, Esq. The opinion was by the learned Justice Hagner, announcing the decision of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia; the decision was affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. Thornton's discovery or Kidwell's flats is a major part of the Potomac Park where is the Lincoln Memorial.

From General Winfield Scott, January, 1817:

Dear Sir,

Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance the distinguished patriot Gen. Mina of old Spain, with whose history you are already well acquainted.

I am respectfully
my dear Sir
Yr most ob.

W. SCOTT.

Dr Thornton, Washington

Francisco Javier Mina in Spain to repel the invasion of the French, took off the sombre robes of the priesthood and put on the brilliant regalia of the military.

"W. Thornton's most respectful Compliments to General Mina, and acknowledges with great pleasure, General Scott's politeness & kindness in furnishing W. T. with an opportunity of expressing with what sincerity he shall hail General Mina on his arrival here.—He rejoices that so distinguished a Patriot has been led by Providence to a Country where the voice of welcome will rapturously greet so noble and worthy a patriot;—and where the sacred cause of universal freedom and happiness will call for the exertions & talents of the generous the brave and virtuous."

Mina was on the way to give the Mexican patriots independence. He ventured too far over the border and fell into the mercies of those Mexicans who were not patriots with the usual Mexican finish.¹⁵

City of Washⁿ., 18th: Nov: 1818.

Dear Sir

I am well aware of the impropriety of troubling you at this time with any affairs which could be postponed, for I truly sympathize in your late loss, and am the more sensible of it in having myself sustained a similar one in the loss of my Mother, my only parent, my Father having died

¹⁵Surprised at night at the rancho of Venadito, near Irapuato, Guanajuato. Was executed November 11, 1817.

when I was but two years old.—In such an affliction there is but one consolation; that the virtuous are received in the mansions of eternal felicity. This consolation you enjoy & it is a legacy without price.—

I would have waited upon you personally but from an unwillingness to intrude.—

Accept my most respectful consideration

W. T.

Hon. J. Q. Adams.

Washington 23, November 1818.

Doctor W Thornton

Dear Sir

“Please to accept my warm acknowledgments for your very kind Letter of condolence upon the misfortune which has befallen me, by the decease of my Mother, and the assurance of the cordial sympathy with which I reciprocate your sentiments, on the bereavement of the same dearest of relatives, with which you have been recently afflicted. If there is one cord of human affection mingled with gratitude stronger than all others it is that between the Mother and her child; and when, as in your case, the Mother, was from the earliest dawn of memory the only surviving Parent, it must be doubly strong and affecting. May you on this distressing event enjoy the consolation, which as you justly observe is above all price.

Your other Letter with its enclosure has also been received and it will afford me great satisfaction, if I can be of any service to you in obtaining from Congress a compensation more adequate to the important and arduous duties of your Office, than that which has hitherto been allowed.

I am, Dear Sir, with great regard and esteem, your obed serv^t.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

Dr. Thornton rushed where angels might hesitate and the high in state station received his unasked assistance in diplomatic disputes as the acts of a busy-

body. The Doctor having heard that the President was offended, through Mr. Adams asked an interview be granted him. Mr. Adams did not report literally, "The President said that he would not see him, nor have any conversation with him upon anything, unless it were patents, and very little upon them." (February 14, 1818.)

Dr. Thornton, as he gained in years, lost in optimism. Oppressive conditions repressed. And he wrote to the Secretary of State, Mr. Adams, March 22, 1819, (he had previously written to the President, Mr. Monroe, to the same effect) that the Commissionship of Patents was more than a clerkship and should have a financial distinction. He reminded that "I have refused from my devoted attachment to this government, every offer of honor & profit to which the South Americans have repeatedly pressed my acceptance." It is in this letter or the other, he coined that common phrase "the high cost of living."

Dr. Thornton was a continuous candidate for a mission to Central America, South America, or Greece or anywhere. The long autographic letters of the President, Mr. Monroe, and of the Secretary of State, Mr. Adams, explaining why not and assuring the Doctor they loved him just the same were to him chaff and unsatisfying and he continued a candidate.

To John Adams, (the elder) :

August 3, 1822.

* * * I was represented as identified with the South Americans & as having been deeply engaged in the Revolution. So that the very reason which rendered me the most proper representative of the North Americans, & would have induced the South Americans to receive me with the most cordial amity, was the cause of my rejection."

John Quincy Adams had distinct views and decided expression. He was a Unitarian; and a criticism by him of another form of worship is, of course, only his:

Washington, March 25th 1821. I went with Dr. Thornton this morning to the Quaker meeting. There were from forty to fifty men present, and about as many females. We sat nearly two hours in perfect silence—no moving of the spirit; and I seldom, in the course of my life, passed two hours more wearily. Perhaps from not having been inured to this form of public worship, I found myself quite unable to reduce my mind to that musing meditation which makes the essence of this form of devotion. It was rambling from this world to the next, and from the next back to this, chance-directed; and, curious to know what was really passing in the minds of those around me, I asked Dr. Thornton, after we came out, what he had been thinking of while we had been there. He said he did not know; he had been much inclined to sleep. Solitude and silence are natural allies, and social silence may be properly allied with social labor. But social meditation is an incongruity. I felt, on my coming from this meeting, as if I had wasted precious time."

City of Washington, 6th, Sept. 1825.

My dear Sir

* * * This is your Birth-day! May the Almighty permit many returns thereof, & may you enjoy in this world all the felicities that the Eternal Spirit accords to mortals, & receive those unspeakable rewards in the world to come which are prepared for all the just & good!

Accept for yourself, your excellent Son & Friend,
my most affectionate farewell.—

W: T:—

General LaFayette

Dr. Thornton was elected an Honorary Member of the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts. The notification is dated Baltimore, November 4, 1826 and signed John H. B. Latrobe.

Of the preserved letters of Dr. Thornton, those of Mr. Jefferson will make a fair-sized volume. Numerous are the other letters to him and from celebrities whose celebrity in many cases was won by usefulness other than by statecraft. Dr. Thornton was a factor in the government because of his acquaintance with the strong at home and his accord with the ministers from abroad. His correspondence was with the scientific, the world over. He was in touch with the South American and West Indian governments and his proffered advice may have had some availment. Among his correspondents were John Trumbull, John McLean, Rufus King, H. St. George Tucker, William Wirt, Basil Hall, Stratford Canning, Jacques Pierre Brissot, J. Correa de Serra, of Brazil; Señor Don Manuel de Saratea, Supreme Director of the Republic of Buenos Ayres, and Dr Pedro Gual, LL. D., Secretary of State and of Foreign Relations of the Republic of Colombia.

Captain Basil Hall in travels in North America (1827-'28) saw us unpleasantly with the usual English vision. Of the city of Washington, he said, it "looks as if some giant had scattered a box of child's toys at random on the ground." I cannot refrain from giving in full a letter of Dr. Thornton's, written within a few months of his death, as it is so reflective of his character.

"W. Thornton's respectful compliments to Captain Basil Hall & would immediately have waited on him to pay his respects to wish him the comp^{ts} of the season & to congratulate him on his safe arrival at the metropolis of the U States where he will meet with most cordial & universal welcome but W. T. is at present confined by sickness.—He writs Capt. Hall to hear the Oration this day at two o'clock at the Capitol by Mr. Southard Secy of the Navy Dep^t. a Member of the Columbian Institute; and he also requests the honor of

the company of Captain Hall to dine with the Institute this Day at half past 4 o'clock at Gadsby's Hotel.—W. Thornton had the honor of being acquainted with the late Lord Selkirk, & Mr. Halket.—He was also a student in the same class with Sir James Hall when at Edinburgh.

“City of Washⁿ: 31st Dec^r. 1827—

Dr. Thornton died Friday, March 28, 1828 “after a tedious confinement, by malady, which he bore with unruffled resignation.” The interment was on Sunday and to it went the President and the prominent. No higher honor possible in the city than the recognition by the association of the cultured.

Columbian Institute,
April 1, 1828

At a special meeting held this day, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That a discourse be delivered before the Institute, on the character of the late Doctor Thornton, one of the founders of the Society, and that the members wear crape one month, as a mark of respect for his memory.

A. DICKENS.

Secretary.

In the Memorial is this tribute:

“Dr. Thornton was distinguished by a clear understanding, a tenacious memory, and exuberant imagination. Highly gifted by nature, those gifts were exalted by an excellent education. His benevolence expanded into philanthropy, was active and boundless.”

William Dunlap in the History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design:

“He was a scholar and a gentleman—full of talent and eccentricity—a quaker by profession, a painter, a poet, and a horse-racer—well acquainted with the mechanic arts—He was ‘a man of infinite humour’—humane and generous,

yet fond of field sports—his company was a complete antidote to dullness.”

Letter of Mrs. Thornton to Robert Mills, the architect:

Sir—I wish you to prepare a Bracket or niche to receive the Bust of the late D W. T—whom I consider as the *regenerator* of the patent office—it is owing almost entirely to his constant & unremitted assiduity & attention that so much encouragement was given to foster the genius & invention of the Citizens of the U. S—& tho’ his cotemporaries have not awarded him the honor due to him, in that & various other ways, I trust that posterity will do him justice.—

I am Sr
respectfully yrs &c.

A M T—

Mrs. Thornton to Dr. Thornton was partial in effect and impartial in her criticisms. Of what, she writes of him, in part is:

“He was a sincere friend, & as far as his means would allow a patron to all artists, & could he have gratified his wishes, would always have had one or more under his roof; several have at different times made his home their home for weeks & months together. He had a great taste for painting as the beautiful specimens of drawings & paintings he has left will testify.

The reverence for the works of the Deity was unbounded, & his love of knowledge so great, that his expansive mind sought it in the Bowels of the Earth & the Heavens above—as may be seen in many essays left behind him; the smallest Insect, & the noblest animals were the objects of his research; & his philanthropy led him to try to enlighten mankind, & benefit them by his study & observation & if he could not accomplish all his ardent & benevolent mind sought to attain, he will have credit, with mankind for his zeal in the Cause of learning & Science & Virtue.—

He was told by a Member of Congress "that he had lived a hundred years too soon!"—his Views being too extended, his plans too vast to be embraced by men generally—a *few very few*, meeting & estimating his liberal Ideas, & noble plans.—

His search after knowledge was perhaps too general, as it embraced almost every subject; had his genius been confined to fewer subjects, had he concentrated his study to some particular science, he wou'd have attained Celebrity, by becoming more deeply learned in some particular branch for he cou'd have attained perfection in any art or science had he given up his mind solely to one pursuit—philosophy, politics, Finance, astronomy, medicine, Botany, Poetry, painting, religion, agriculture, in short all subjects by turns occupied his active & indefatigable mind.—But who can curb an excursive mind led by Curiosity into all the labyrinths of knowledge, & searching eagerly after new lights; such a mind must sometimes be led away by the meteors of Genius, to a versatility of pursuits & cannot be bounded, like the plodding, every day beings, who form the greatest portion of this terrestrial Globe."

Mrs. Thornton preserved the numerous papers for a biography. Besides of the Doctor much there is in libraries, societies and collections. And a most remarkable fact it is, that other than as a physician, there is no mention of any preparation or instruction by which he came to his varied acquirements and attainments.

Mme. Alice Geubel de la Ruelle of Paris, a few days since, of the wife of our Executive said: "Mrs. Wilson is what we would call a wife-partner of her husband, supplementing his official activities." It applies to Mrs. Thornton. She was a helpmeet. She was an understudy. In what he perfected himself, so did she. So when he made the rough creative sketch, she could

draw the careful lines and circles. That his burdens might be less, she did the drudgery of account-keeping.

I understand from the entries in Mrs. Thornton's diary that she studied art under Gilbert Stuart. Painted by her in water colors are the estates of Monticello and Montpelier and other examples of her art are extant.

From the diary of Mrs. Thornton:

1800, September Tuesday 16 After dinner we went to the Executive Office to look at a picture of Gen^l Washington painted by Stewart and to be put in the Presidents' House—do not think it a good likeness.

From *The Washington Times*, August 24, 1914:

"Washington never deserved to have the Gilbert Stuart portrait taken seriously. It was not taken seriously by the man who made it or by any of his contemporaries. It made no pretense of being a likeness. Even now, it ought to be banished and some of the authentic likenesses of Washington taken up as the basis of popular portraiture."

Mrs. Thornton's diary begins with September 30, 1798, and ends August, 1865. Some parts are missing. The facts were entered on the day. They are indubitable. Rarely are they with comment. First is stated the day of the month, the day of the week, and the weather condition. Many oversights in newspaper and other accounts are supplied; and what is supplied is important in completing a narrative. The diary is of valuable historic worth notwithstanding her deprecation, December 31, 1829:

"Our lives pass on, one day so much like another that there is little use in recording its daily events—to myself it is sometimes gratifying to refer to days past—but to others useless—I have for many years kept these memo-

randums & it has become a habit that I can hardly resign—but why do what will not gratify or serve anyone?—notwithstanding I go on!”

On Independence Day, the host’s courtesy to the crowd was such that Mrs. Thornton unobserved could slip into the conservatory at the President’s House and make the theft. And today there is a mite of an envelope with this endorsement by Mrs. Thornton:

“A geranium leaf stolen from Mr. Jeffersons cabinet on the 4th of July 1804”

I peered into the envelope, the faded leaf is in it.

Fair exchange is no robbery; yet, Mrs. Thornton paid a conscience contribution by a strong specimen of the flower of the Celestial Empire, here, then a rarity—principal and usury for an insignificant leaf.

“Th: Jefferson presents his respectful compliments to Mrs. Thornton and is able now to restore to her the plant of chrysanthemum she was so kind as to send him the last summer, having taken from it this spring a luxuriant shoot and set it in a box, in which it is growing well, he return(s) her his thanks for the same.”

The letters Mrs. Thornton had from the brilliant were their estimation of her worth. I pass over the letters from Mrs. Madison, Lady (Mary C.) Bagot, wife of the British Minister; John Howard Payne and Henry Clay.

To Mrs Thornton

“Our sex Dear Madam for a while
May bear with some *Expostulation*
But after all will only smile
And cease to think of reformation—
Of empty heads we all may write

But how to fill them few can tell,
Cutting severity's far to trite
 To cure or mend a grown up belle.
 Your Fable with delight I read
 Its moral merits, strike and please us,
 While Popish puns together bred
 Real sensations sadly grievous—
 La Mancha's Knight these close pursues
 To chase away sad Retrospection,
 Blythe Wit with humour decks his Muse
 Exciting mirth and admiration—
 For compliments my brain I rack
 'Tis all in vain, I ne'er knew how,
 So follow through the beaten track
 Of learning how to cringe and bow—
 Affection's thanks alone I offer
 Madam accept the kindly proffer.

LOUISA.

(Mrs. Adams, April 1, 1821.)

Dr Sir

I beg you will read the enclosed & return them to me—
 It affects me deeply to see these proofs of his good feelings
 & to think that tho' I lived with him so many years that I
 did not know him as well as I do now—& that I *might per-*
haps have saved him from being led into the labyrinth of
 debts and difficulties to which I fear he fell a victim—
 You will understand my feelings I am sure—

Yrs most respectfully

A M T

Col^l Bomford

Dr. Thornton was embarrassed; however, his prop-
 erty exceeded his indebtedness by a substantial mar-
 gin. The property he purchased, almost all, he could

never sell. For value at this date he could hardly have made better purchases. His entire estate he left to Mrs. Thornton and Mrs. Brodeau; the part by them unconverted to be for the emancipation and education of the negro.

Thomas Law's poem had this accompanying note:

Dear Madam—

“Accept the lines you wish'd to view
Amounting just to fifty-two—
The theme I fancy is quite new
And if a little credits due
'Tis that I have preserv'd the clue
Rhyming alternately all through—
To term most awkward Barbacue
In prose the language of truth

I remain
With sincere esteem
Yrs mt sy

T LAW

In August, 1835, a slave of Mrs. Thornton made an attempt to murder her and Mrs. Brodeau, at night, with an axe. He was prevented by his own mother. The indignation was to the pitch, that, in revenge, mobs of white people destroyed negro dwellings, school houses and a church.

Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith was the authoress of the city's early days. In the latter days, her letters have been compiled with the title *Forty Years of Washington Society*. The letter to Mrs. Thornton, as any of them, is as delightful to peruse and as defiant to punctuation.

Christmas day 1835

Were your circumstances even happier than they at present are, I would not my Dear friend wish you a *Merry Christmas*, as from my own feelings I do not consider merriment & happiness as synonomous—But with my whole heart I wish you a quiet, comfortable day & hope that we together may enjoy a social, pleasant evening.

Say, my dear friend, cannot you all come around this evening—Indeed it will be *better* for you than staying at home & indulging in a worse than useless—in a *hurtful* melancholy. It does no one good, & does you much harm, & it is your positive duty to take care of your *own* health on which so entirely depends your ability to support the declining days of your mother. So do this, you must by going out & taking more exercise, try to direct your thoughts from the painful object on which they are continually fixed. You will say, it is easy for those who do not suffer to give advice, but indeed my friend I only advise what I myself practice, for whenever my heart is heavy or my spirits depressed I use every means to throw off my burthen & have ever found air, exercise & the company of friends the best means of so doing—I repeat, do not *think* so much of one subject—

How is your dear mother this morning, I hope she will be able to drink a little of Bayard's egg nog. *Let me know if she* will be able to come out this evening—If she cannot, I shall try to come round to say how de ye do to her—I wish Mrs Miller would come. the Dr. I shall certainly expect, as he promised to take a glass of egg nog & a hand at cards with us—

Thirty-five christmas days have passed in Washington—and though many, many dear & valued friends who successively enjoyed with us this holiday, are departed to another & better world, *we* are left.—yes, *you*, the first acquaintance I made, are now my *oldest* & dearest friend—a sincere & faithful friend is one of the greatest blessings of life—Amidst

all our deprivations, *that blessing is ours*—& will I trust
continue to be so while life is continued to you & your
unchanged friend

M. HARRISON SMITH.

1842

Washington Assemblies

Managers

Hon Wm C Preston

Hon Daniel Webster

Ch. Lee Jones

J. Mandeville Carlisle

Phil. Barton Key

D^r R. T. Barry U S N

Hon W^m Cost Johnson

Gen^l. George Gibson

Com. Beverly Kennon

Gen^l Alex. Hunter

Richard Wallach

Henry May

Rich^d. Hall

Lieut. T. L. Ringgold U S A

The honor of Mrs. Thornton's

Company is requested at the Washington Assemblies.

Mrs. Thornton's tribute to Mrs. Smith:

"On Sunday (the 9th Int) I performed the melancholy duty of attending with the mourning relatives, the funeral of my much loved friend M^{rs}. S—consort of the respectable & highly respected Mr. S—to their Vault at Rock Creek Church where her remains were deposited by the side of her two (once lovely) Daughters who departed this life some years since Mrs. S.—was as wife mother relation & friend, as faultless as human nature would allow—& was universally respected & esteemed & beloved by all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance. Charitable in the full sense of the word, generous & hospitable, she will never cease to be regretted by all—rich—& poor—Her whole life was one of benevolence & *good* deeds—piety & charity—to her husband, children & grand children her life is irreparable—

Many of her literary productions, evincing talent & genius are much admired, & all tended to the furtherance of morality—& Love to God & Man—I hope some more able pen will soon do honor to her memory & record in a more worthy & lasting manner her many Virtues—& the merits of her long & useful Life—A—

In trembling hand are the lines of the aged ex-President:

Lines.

To my kind, intellectual and benevolent friend and next door neighbor at Washington

Mrs. Thornton.

Oh! if the feelings of the heart
 In WORDS could find expression;
 When dearest friends are doom'd to part;
 And Truth transcends profession;
 Then should my tuneful lyre awake
 The soundest of thy slumbers;
 And thrilling strains thy spirit shake,
 With more than magic numbers.
 But what are Words—a breath of air
 From human lips exported;
 In which the Heart has oft no share—
 With falsehood oft assorted—
 A flitting zephyr, false or true
 You know not where to find him,
 Who comes, and vanishes from view:
 Nor leaves a trace behind him.
 WORDS! Never! Never can they tell
 The Souls intense emotion!
 Can never speak the bosom's swell;
 The faithful heart's devotion.
 Then, Lady! let this simple lay,
 Until again I meet thee:
 For thee a silent blessing pray
 And still in *Silence* greet thee!

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,
 Quincy, Massachusetts 15 July 1844.

And this is only a slight selection from Mrs. Adams' letter:

“Quincy 23^d July 1844

* * * Long my Dear Madam may the old and highly valued friendship which has subsisted without interruption *last*; for it is a grateful link to charm the late period of a life, which has been too worldly and frivolous to claim many such blessings—

LOUISA CATHERINE ADAMS.

The Rochambeau,
February 13 1914

Dear Sir,

In reply to your inquiry about Mrs. Thornton's appearance I would say she was quite small. Whether that was due to her being an old lady or not I do not know, but as I remember her she was very short she always wore dainty white caps, and the hair which showed in front was brown. She had beautiful big brown eyes, keen, yet soft, wore a simple black dress with a little white shawl thrown round her shoulders. Her hearing, eyesight, mind and memory were good to the very last and she was always alive and interested in whatever concerned her friends and in the current news of the day. Mr. Gaillard Hunt at the Washington Club a week or so ago spoke of what a wonderful man Dr. Thornton was, and yet how little known—he spoke of his having been really the inventor of the steamboat, though Fulton got the credit, through getting hold of Dr. Thornton's drawings. His talk carried me back to the many times I had heard Mrs. Thornton speak of her husband having invented the first steam boat and her grief over the little recognition his talents and services had ever obtained and it seemed so strange now to hear honor paid to him and his wonderful genius and influence proclaimed when all who were so deeply interested were gone and it has made me think a great deal of Mrs. Thornton lately so your question came in strangely. I wish I could give you an idea of her as I see her in my mind's eye—sitting in her armchair

by the window in her parlours—a little table with her glasses, books and papers at her right hand—her room a veritable museum of beautiful old things, from the tapestry covered chairs to the paintings and bric-a-brac around in great profusion—and she, so simple hearted and sweet. My mother was a great comfort to her and so tenderly interested in all that concerned her and tried to encourage her—some day, justice would be done.

Very truly yours

VIRGINIA MILLER.

To

Mr. Allen C. Clark.

Mrs. Thornton worshipped at St. John's. She continued to live many years in the old home as the guest of Dr. Thomas Miller, who acquired it.

Mrs. Thornton died, Tuesday August 16 1865. She was in her ninetieth year.

I am indebted for the portraits reproduced to Mrs. Sterling Murray, Miss Virginia Miller and Miss Florence Fendall.

THE OLD GLASS-HOUSE

By ROBERT H. HARKNESS.

(Read before the Society, November 17, 1914.)

The name, "Old Glass-House," to an old-time Washingtonian, meant not only an old factory where glass was made, but it also comprehended the settlement that grew up in the vicinity of that factory.

This factory and settlement were in the Southwestern part of Washington City.

To be more explicit, the factory was at the southeast corner of Twenty-second and Water streets, northwest; and the Glass-House settlement covered the space between Twenty-first and Twenty-third streets, northwest, and New York avenue and the Potomac river, and occupied part of the old village of Hamburg or Funkstown, which extended from about the location of Nineteenth street to that of Twenty-third street, west, and from about the location of H street, northwest, to the Potomac River, and is now scarcely ever heard of except among the lawyers who examine land-titles.

The Old Glass-House is also almost forgotten, and in a very few years more all personal remembrance of it will have been lost.

There used to be a very welcome visitor to my parents' house by the name of Miss Frances Knobloch. She was a devout and cheerful little lady, and her coming and sojourn among us was always a source of pleasure to the whole family. She was so good, so kind, so helpful that we all loved her dearly; and we children called her Aunt Frances. She was born at the Old Glass-House in 1818, in a peculiar looking brick house

(it was really two houses built back-to-back) standing on C street between Twenty-first and Twenty-second streets, northwest. One of the houses has been removed leaving the other the sole survivor, in this year, 1914, of the original brick structures of the settlement.

We all loved to hear her tell about her old home at the Old Glass-House. She was the daughter of one of the glass-blowers and the sister of another, and we never tired of hearing her tell, in her quaint gentle way, about the life at that place.

When I was still a boy, quite a number of years ago, I remember that some one, in giving reminiscences of old Washington City, spoke slightly of the Old Glass-House neighborhood; and, on reading them, she was filled with righteous indignation, and expressed the wish that some one would contradict the aspersion, and set the dear old place in its true light. Young and small though I was, I aspired to be that champion, and many years afterward, while she was still alive, and not long before her death, I wrote, and the *Evening Star* newspaper published (in 1892 when she was seventy-four years old), an article in which I tried to give a correct idea of the size of the business carried on there, the character of its people, and the natural advantages and beauty of the place.

This present narrative is a revision and enlargement of that effort; both the original article and its revision having been inspired by the love of that little woman for the place of her birth, and for the beautiful and interesting scenes of her childhood, her girlhood and her early womanhood.

As my story proceeds, it will appear that there were those who corroborated her testimony, but she was one whose love clung to it as to a dear parent.

When I called on old Mr. Frederick Schneider, Sr., and asked him to tell me about the Old Glass-House, his eyes lit up as though I had recalled a very pleasing picture, and his smile indicated that I had aroused very pleasant memories. He never tired of telling me about it, and he drew me a picture of the works as well as failing eyesight would permit.

Among the different sections of the City of Washington, the history of the Old Glass-House is peculiar. All the other sections, when once started in the way of improvements, have kept on progressing, though it may have been slowly in some instances. But the Glass-House enterprise and settlement sprung up, flourished and declined before most of the other sections had fairly commenced to grow. No one who now, 1914, wanders around the neighborhood of Twenty-second and Water streets, northwest, would ever suspect that there once existed on that spot a very important business enterprise, and a settlement as thrifty as any of the same size in New England, and as lovely in its homely simplicity as a poet's dream.

But such, Aunt Frances maintained, is the fact; and the conviction is natural, that if she received the moulding influences of her life there, and she did, there must have been some very good people there, and the place must have had strong claims to attractiveness. When she was a child there was no canal running along the river-bank, and there was no marsh to be afterwards known as the "Kidwell Meadows," now reclaimed and developed into Potomac Park; but all the way from the river-shore, almost on a line with Water and B streets, across to the Virginia side, was open water; and the Potomac extended like a lake from Mason's or Analostan Island to the Long Bridge. The Long Bridge causeway had not then been built. It was

a beautiful sheet of water, and Aunt Frances said that on moonlight nights the view was enchanting, as the rays shimmered and sparkled on the broad expanse. (She may have had some romantic reason for remembering its appearance by moonlight, but the fear of intruding on some sacred precinct deterred me from teasing her about it.)

At that time the hills and meadows were still in their original shape and pristine beauty. Very little street-grading had been done in that neighborhood, and the slopes were as round and clean as a well-cropped pasture. The cows and geese were the efficient lawn-mowers of that time, and they wandered about without fear of a poundmaster, whose creation here had not been so much as prophesied.

Just to the west of the Glass-House settlement, and especially beautiful, was Camp Hill, so-called because soldiers were encamped there during the war of 1812, and there, too, were some graves and the ruins of a fort. Mr. Frederick Schneider, Sr., to whom I am indebted for most of my information as to the manufacture of glass at the Old Glass-House, was of the impression that soldiers were the occupants of those graves; but Mr. John C. Harkness, in an article published in the *Evening Star* newspaper May 3, 1884, states that there were quite a number of graves in the little cemetery on the hill, and that they contained the dead of the old hamlet of Hamburg or Funkstown. I will further state that Mr. Harkness also remembered two of the principal residents of Hamburg, one of whom was the pioneer of the settlement, a Mr. Funk of Hamburg, Germany, whose house was "a queer structure, built largely of imported materials, after some pattern peculiar to his native town," and who "lived to an advanced age, revered



FREDERICK SCHNEIDER, SR.
Born 1811 at Lauffen Am Neckar, Wurttemberg,
Died 1893 at Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

for his paternal relations to the burg," and the other was "a retired West Indian sea captain by the name of King, whose home was near the river, in the midst of ample grounds, studded with shade and fruit trees and shrubbery; and who and family were highly respected, and loved to entertain visitors, as an indication of which the writer (Mr. J. C. Harkness) recalled the fact that they had trained a jackdaw to meet visitors at the front gate, to bow gracefully to them and say distinctly 'How do?' 'Come in!' and then lead the way to the front door."

Camp Hill was as round and smooth as though artificially graded, and its turf was as green as was ever seen in the Emerald Isle itself. The Naval Observatory was afterwards built there, and was succeeded by the Naval Hospital. The old Observatory building is still there, and on it the dome from which the moons of Mars were discovered.

Off to the north of the Old Glass-House could be seen the scattered houses of the First Ward, conspicuous among them the Pleasonton Mansion at the southwest corner of Twenty-first and F streets, northwest. To the northeast, across the smooth green commons, could be seen the President's house and the Tayloe mansion (the Octagon House) with scarce a house to break the view.

To the southeast could be seen the Capitol and the Arsenal. Neither the Washington Monument nor the Smithsonian Institution was then in existence. To the east and much nearer (just across a narrow valley traversed by a little creek that came from the direction of Pennsylvania avenue and Fourteenth street, northwest, and entered the Potomac at the Glass-House near the foot of Twenty-first street, and across which was a bridge at about Eighteenth or Nineteenth street)

was the old David Burnes place; and between it and the river was the residence of a Mr. Johnson, a florist, who had steps cut into the river-bank down to the water.

From the top of Camp Hill could be had a fine view of Georgetown and of the gorge through which the river passed before reaching that place. Also to the west could be seen, across the river, the lovely home of Colonel Mason on Analostan Island; and, beyond it, the Arlington Mansion, perched upon its lofty height, the grand home of the beloved George W. P. Custis.

Across the river to the south, in the distance, was Alexandria.

Occasionally could be seen, passing along the river, some stately square-rigged, ocean-going ship, bound to or from Georgetown.

All the surroundings were beautiful and interesting, and the settlement itself, whether viewed from the Potomac or from the hills, was an attractive sight. It was a pleasing picture of well kept homes, gardens, orchards and fields.

The settlement was principally the natural growth around what was considered in those days a large and flourishing glass-factory, situated on the river-bank between Twenty-first and Twenty-second streets, northwest, and which was started about the year 1807 by a firm composed of Messrs. Andrew Way, Jr., George Way, Jacob Curts, Horace H. Edwards and Solomon Stinger, who in that year (according to deed dated May 12, 1807, and recorded in *Liber M* 17 at folio 315 of the District of Columbia Land Records) bought a piece of land in Square 89, fronting 169½ feet on Water street and extending southward to the Potomac; and on the river side of which was a wharf fronting about 130 feet on the river, and extending about 200

feet south from Water street, and called the "Commissioners Wharf" on the old plats, with a depth of about eight feet of water at mean tide. By the year 1809 the two Messrs. Way had bought out the interests of the other owners, and in 1813 they had increased their acquisitions to the east and west of the works until their property extended 321½ feet along Water street, a large part of it covered by water, it is true, but very valuable to them for the extension of their works and wharves.

One of the deeds relating to the property (that by which Horace H. Edwards conveyed his interest in part of the land to the Messrs. Way, dated April 7, 1809, and recorded in *Liber M* 21 at Folio 402) mentioned the glass works erected on the premises.

Again referring to Mr. J. C. Harkness's article of May 3, 1884, in the *Evening Star*, I quote: "At the east end of the hamlet, Hamburg, meaning that part of it on Camp Hill, there was a large well-constructed wharf, and nearby a 'glass-house' which, under the skilful and efficient management of one of our earliest citizens, Andrew Way, Jr. (who was also an inspiration to many other schemes looking to the development of the hidden resources of the embryo city) acquired a reputation for the manufacture of window-glass second to none in that day."

The Messrs. Way also owned about 230 feet front on the opposite side of Water street, across the street to the north from the factory, in Square 88, and about sixty feet front around on C street in the same square.

The factory buildings extended quite a distance along Water street. At the east end was the blowing-room, a barn-like brick structure with broad blind arches in the walls.

A specimen of exactly the same style of construction can be seen in the stable walls at the Octagon House. Indeed, if the old Glass-House were still standing, an archaeologist would say that it was contemporary with the Octagon House stable, the style being identical; and both structures were probably erected by the same mechanics. There used to be another specimen of the same style on the west side of Nineteenth street just south of New York avenue, a dwelling house which looked very old fifty years ago. The old Bank-of-the-United-States building, afterwards the Riggs & Company bank building, was also a specimen of the same style, and the Van Ness Mansion was another, and our Court House or City Hall is yet another. And I am told that the Calvert Mansion at Riverdale, Maryland, has the same style of walls.

There was no chimney to the blowing-room, but a large cupola in the roof served as an outlet for the smoke and gases; and a small hand-engine was always standing ready to extinguish any blaze in the roof from stray sparks.

In the blowing-room were the furnaces for melting the materials, and there were platforms for ten blowers, so Mr. Schneider informed me. To the west from the blowing-room extended the flattening-house, the cutting-room, the pot-room, the mixing-room, and the box-shop, all built of brick. Outside, next to the wharf, was a large wood-yard. Boschke's map of Washington (1857) shows the ground plan of the works.

In front and to the south of the factory, was the extensive wharf already mentioned, built on piles, on which were landed the wood used in the furnaces, and the sand and other supplies that came by water; and from which wharf, in the early days of the enterprise,



Blacksmith Shop, Residence and Store of Mr August Schneider Sr,
NORTH SIDE NEWYORK AVENUE BETWEEN 21st AND 22d STREETS, N.W.

AS THEY APPEARED ABOUT THE YEAR 1820.

FROM A DRAWING MADE BY MISS LITTLE FOR MR. FREDERICK
SCHNEIDER, SR., AND FROM HIS DESCRIPTION (ABOUT 1892)

was shipped, in sloops and schooners, most of the product of the factory, principally window glass.

Mr. Charles Griffin, an old resident of the neighborhood of Easby's Shipyard, who died at an advanced age some twenty years ago, about 1894, told me that the sand used at the "Old Glass-House" was obtained at St. George's Island on the Potomac near Chesapeake Bay, and that the vessel used in its transportation was called the "Two Brothers" (doubtless named after the Messrs. Andrew and George Way). The potash, so I was informed by Mr. Frederick Schneider, Sr., was obtained near Philadelphia, where large forests were at that time destroyed in its manufacture. And the old title-deeds seem to indicate that the Messrs. Way came from that locality.

I am very deeply indebted to our Mr. Wilhelmus B. Bryan, so well known for his historical labors, for references to all the advertisements in the *National Intelligencer* newspaper referring to the "Old Glass-House." The extent and value of his assistance to me can be appreciated by those who know what it is to look through newspaper files for information; and the references he has freely given me extend from the year 1809 to the year 1843. I could not possibly have looked through all those files with proper care, with the limited leisure that I have. I take great pleasure in making this acknowledgment of his generosity.

For most of my references to the District of Columbia Land Records I am indebted to Mr. Jackson H. Ralston; and to Mr. George G. McElwee, Secretary of the Real Estate & Columbia Title Insurance Companies, for the rest.

Before proceeding further with the history of the enterprise of the Messrs. Way, I will pause to state that the glass business in America at the beginning of

the nineteenth century was a limited one, and that the one inaugurated in Washington City was of much more importance and significance than might now be supposed.

Chamber's Cyclopædia states that "In America attempts seem to have been made to establish glass-works at Jamestown, Virginia; subsequently, in 1780, at Temple, New Hampshire; in 1789, at Newhaven; and in 1809 at Boston."

In the same year, 1809, the works in the city of Washington were already successfully manufacturing and selling glass.

The first advertisement to which Mr. Bryan refers me was inserted in the *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 1, 1809, and is as follows:

"WINDOW GLASS

of various sizes

for sale

Wholesale and Retail

at the Glass Works in this city.

Orders from all parts of the country will

be duly attended to by

Edwards, Way & Co.

N. B. Sixteen cents per bushel will be given for clean
Oak or Hickory Ashes, delivered at the works.

Washington City, Nov. 1."

I have already quoted Mr. John C. Harkness's opinion of the glass manufactured at the Old Glass-House. Mr. Harkness was a builder and knew whereof he spoke. Mr. Frederick Schneider, Sr., told me that "the glass manufactured by the Messrs. Way and their successors, was of a very superior quality; that the demand for it was large; and that it ranked second only to the Boston crown glass, then considered the best in the country." Mr. Schneider also stated that the first blowers



JAR MANUFACTURED AT THE OLD GLASS HOUSE

employed at the works were Bohemians, who possessed some closely-guarded secret about the business by which they made the window glass so very transparent, that almost any number of panes could be placed together face to face and the light would come through clearly. A description of the work done there, given by persons living twenty-two years ago, when I wrote my first article for *The Star*, indicated that it was characterized by extreme conscientiousness. For instance, the wood that was used to keep the melting furnace at a proper temperature, had to be of a certain kind and quality, and had to have all the knots cut out, and the fagots had to be made of a certain size, and the workmen, called sheerers, who fed the fires, had to watch each oven and each stick as it burned, so that the temperature could not get a degree too high or too low.

In the *National Intelligencer* of October 26, 1810, appeared the following:

“GLASS WORKS.

“The Window-Glass Manufactory in this City being in full operation, the subscribers have it in their power to supply, on the shortest notice, any quantity of glass (of various sizes) that may be ordered. It can be recommended as being of good quality, well cut and carefully packed.

Orders from any part of the continent will be promptly attended to.

A. & G. Way & Co.

Washington City, Oct. 26.”

Observe the size of the market they were reaching out after!

An idea as to the quantity of glass manufactured at the Old Glass-House can be had from the fact that during one season, as related by Mr. Schneider, when the demand for the product did not come up to expec-

tations, the storage accommodations of the works were taxed to their utmost capacity, and the large old stone warehouse at G Street wharf was rented, and was packed with glass from cellar to roof. Suddenly orders began to pour in, and in a short time the whole stock was sold.

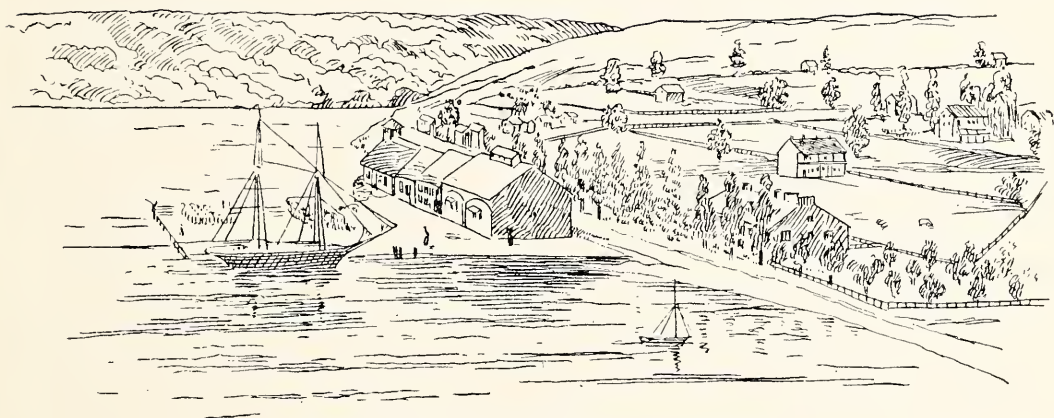
An estimate of the financial size of the business may be made from the fact that during one season of nine months the profits amounted to \$30,000, though it is probable that such seasons were rare.

Across from the factory on the north side of Water Street, was a row of six broad two-story-and-attic brick dwellings, called "Glass-House Row." There was another row, back in the same square called "Glass Blowers Row," but it does not appear to have belonged to the Messrs. Way. Most of the other houses in the settlement were frames.

A row of fine Lombardy poplar trees extended along Water Street, and other fine trees were frequent in the settlement.

When business was brisk, about 100 hands, men and boys (at one time 125) were employed, most, if not all, of whom lived in the settlement. The good wages received enabled the workmen to live comfortably and well. They took pleasure and pride in their cottages, improved them with porches and verandas, and covered and surrounded them with vines, flowers and trees. It is astonishing how well their houses and tables were furnished in those primitive times.

The colored people who lived there had the same pride in their homes. One old couple named Tasker, who lived near Mr. August Schneider's shop on New York Avenue, had their cottage completely covered with an immense multiflora running-rose, and their home was a marvel of neatness and cleanliness, within and without.



WORKS AND PART OF THE VILLAGE.
From Recollections of Frederick Schneider, Sr., Miss Knobloch, and Others.

Many of the families owned slaves but were much attached to them. Aunt Frances used to relate how, when a little girl, she was once on the wharf fishing in company with her father's little slave girl. The little negress fell overboard, and her young mistress risked her own life by reaching down and grabbing her by the wool and holding her head above water until help came. And during the cholera epidemic in 1832 an old colored workman at the factory was the first one stricken in that neighborhood; and his white fellow-workmen went to work on him, rubbing him with "No. 6" liniment until they almost flayed him and their own hands, but saved his life.

Some of the superintendents of the works were Mr. Jewett, Mr. McLean and Mr. Stinger. Mr. Stinger lived in "Glass House Row." Among the foreman and skilled workmen were the Knoblochs, father and son, Mr. Brower, father of Mrs. John Krafft and Mrs. George Krafft, and Mr. Hartman.

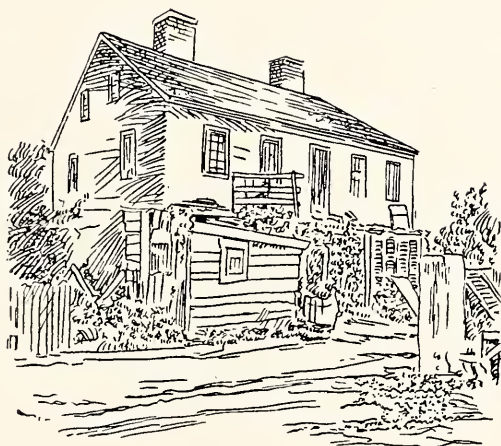
Among the other workmen and residents at different times were Messrs. Gabler, Miller, Reddick, James Hall, Patten, Leake, Adam Knott, Grinder, Henry Parker, Pfister, Thos. Bingy, two families of Taylors, a family of Johnsons, Mr. August Schneider, from whom are descended the foundrymen, hardware men, and the builder of that name, the Reitz family, who afterwards lived on the north side of E street just east of Fourteenth street, and the Fillius family, who afterwards built on Pennsylvania avenue between Tenth and Eleventh streets, but resided in the country.

Mr. John Taylor lived on the south side of Water street between Twenty-second and Twenty-third streets in square 63, near Mr. Easby's limekilns; and Mr. Johnson lived directly opposite, in square 62. On the west side of Twenty-second street, between Water

and C streets, in square 62, lived Messrs. Eckhart, a butcher, Beatley, Ratry, Lucas, Smith and Hutcherson. Mr. Pfister lived on the west side of Twenty-second street, between New York avenue and D street. Mr. Lackey had a truck-garden on the west side of Twenty-second street, between D and E streets, in Square 61, where Mr. Fuller afterwards lived. Mr. Fuller's house is still, 1914, standing.

On the east side of Twenty-second street, north of New York avenue [in Square 84] was the cozy and well furnished cottage of Miss Betsey Massie, the aunt and foster-mother of Miss Mary E. Settle, who married a Mr. Rodier, and after his death, in a gunning accident, was for many years a teaching in the public schools of Washington, and is affectionately remembered by a great many of her pupils. Mr. Lackey had her educated with his own daughter at the best schools here.

Mr. August Schneider and family lived on the north side of New York avenue between Twenty-first and Twenty-second streets, in Square 84. He kept a general store, and out in the middle of the street, opposite his house, he had a blacksmith shop. He used to make and repair tools for the Glass-Works. One of his sons, Frederick Schneider, Sr., the retired foundryman, and widely known as the collector of an extensive library of rare and valuable books, worked, while a very young man, in the old blacksmith shop of his father, and remembered once making iron shoe-soles for the colored man who mixed the material at the factory, to keep his feet from getting burnt by the potash. He also referred with professional pride to having once lengthened the barrel of a huge ducking-gun for Mr. Cumberland, soldering the splice on with copper, to the increased destruction of the ducks and the great satisfaction of Mr. Cumberland.



THE LAST OF THE HOUSES.
MISS KNOBLOCH'S BIRTHPLACE.
From a Photograph (1892).



On Twenty-first street, between C street and New York avenue, in Square 87 or East-of-87, were the residences of Messrs. Davis, Beadle, Franke, Cumberland and Duff. After Mr. Frank's death, his widow supported herself by cultivating a large truck-garden. Mr. Duff was a well-digger from Alexandria. Before he finally settled in Washington, he would bring a tent and establish a camp wherever he dug a well. The Smiths, who lived back west from Twenty-second street, between B and C streets, in square 62, were mulattoes and natives of the West Indies. They were very thrifty. They kept boats that plied on the Potomac, and lived as nicely and comfortably as anybody else, and owned slaves. They were members of St. John's Church, Washington, where they used to sit in the gallery, and were very devout. Aunt Frances remembered that some of them died of consumption, and that their deaths were "beautifully triumphant and happy."

Another highly respected colored family was the Blacksons, who were slaves of the Hartman family. One of its descendants was employed at the White House in the "eighties."

The Glass-House people did most of their shopping in Georgetown, going and returning across the commons. In the first part of the century their most direct route led them across a large single-arch stone bridge that spanned Rock Creek at K street. It was built prior to the year 1800, as it is represented in an engraving of that year. Its arch is said to have contained one stone for each of the original thirteen states, and its builders must have considered it a very substantial structure, for they carved on its keystone "May the Union last as long as this bridge." It has lasted a great many years longer.

Some of the Glass-House children, in going to school, became long-distance pedestrians. Some went to a Mr. Haskell, near St. John's Church, Washington; and others to a Mr. Tippet on the Navy Yard, and the path there was not a straight one.

Of course the pleasures of the place were few and simple. The chief amusements of the men were gunning, boating, fishing, coasting and skating. Fish were plentiful and wholesome, and canvas-back ducks were as numerous as blackbirds, perhaps more so. Old residents related that sometimes they would be resting and feeding on the river by the thousands.

Christmas was made a great holiday, as might be expected from people who came from countries where it is so heartily and joyously observed. And in this connection there is an amusing anecdote that is worthy of preservation. There was a superstition among the people of the community that the devil would get after any one who worked on Christmas day. Mr. John Knobloch, a very original character and a general favorite, but who had not the fear of the devil before his eyes, imperiled his safety one Christmas morning by going to work in the box-shop. He had not been working long when he heard three mysterious taps, several times repeated, and when he at last located them in a large pile of shavings, the horns and head of the enemy of souls appeared to emerge therefrom, whereupon John Knobloch quickly emerged from the room. He speedily returned, however, with his gun, and with the laudable purpose of exterminating the devil. When he re-entered the room, Satan was there in full size and shape, and in conventional attire, tail, hair and horns. But when he saw John's gun, he made for the opposite door and closed it behind him just as a load of shot



THE BOYLE HOMESTEAD.
On the Western Slope of Camp (Observatory) Hill.
(The Walls Were Coated with Grey Pebble-dash.)
Sketched from the Observatory Grounds.

struck it. A moment later and Mr. Grinder would have paid for his joke with his life.

Washington City offered very fair amusements in those days, but it was a long, dark way home to any Glass-House people who went to the theatre or any other place of evening amusement. One local fun-maker who distinguished himself for some years, along about 1825 to 1830, was a young man named Frank Boyle, who had a fools-cap-and-bells, and would sometimes come over to the Glass-House from his home on the western slope of Camp Hill, the site is now covered by Heurich's Brewery, and amuse the natives with his pranks and antics.

Parties of ladies and gentlemen sometimes came over to the factory from other sections of the city, and the blowers would make curious toys of glass for them called singing-bottles, flip-flops, etc.

There was no church in the settlement, but the people attended service in the more favored parts of the city. Dr. Hawley, while rector of St. John's Church, Washington, sometimes held evening meetings at Mr. Knobloch's, and in later years Dr. Noble, of the Presbyterian Church, had prayer-meetings at Mr. Johnson's. On pleasant Sabbath afternoons in summer, when there were candidates for baptism, Rev. Obadiah Brown, while pastor of Nineteenth Street Baptist Church (then white), and at the same time Postmaster General, would bring a portable pulpit and set it up at Big Rock, as some called it, or Braddock's Rock, as others then called it and some still call it. It was at the foot of Camp Hill, a short distance west of the "Old Glass-House." At that time the rock was still intact and jutted far out into the river like a natural wharf, whence one of its names was "Key of All Keys" or "Quay of All Quays." There Parson Brown would

preach to the large multitude who always assembled on such occasions, and sat, as they listened, on the grassy slopes of Camp Hill. Then he would go down into the water and baptize the converts, while the peaceful Sabbath air rang with songs of praise.

Aunt Frances used to say that, as she looked back to those scenes, they made her think of Apostolic times.

One of the most delightful pleasures of the Glass-House people, with other Washingtonians, was their picnics across the river at Custis's Spring, going and returning in large rowboats and flatboats. We have no such picnic grounds now as our forebears enjoyed on the shore at Arlington under the huge trees that stood, a great forest, around the great spring. But the chief charm of the place was Mr. Custis's unaffected hospitality and sociability. He loved to have the people come and enjoy themselves, and he built a large pavilion near the spring for their use. He would spend a large part of the day with them, and would join heartily in their conversation and amusements. He played the violin by the hour for the young folks to dance, and would relate anecdotes about General Washington, who was his step-grandfather, to an ever-increasing circle of listeners, often stripping the pavilion of its dancers, as few cared to miss a story of our greatest hero from so attractive, instructive and authentic a story-teller.

He always brought an old manservant with him to the picnic grounds to help with the cooking and in waiting on the tables. On one occasion he brought a large silver platter and loaned it to the ladies, telling them that it once belonged to the great Washington.

But to return to the early days of the Glass-Works.

On the 26th of May, 1819, eleven years after the foundation of the factory, there appeared in the *National Intelligencer* the following:

WINDOW GLASS MANUFACTORY AND OTHER VALUABLE PROPERTY FOR SALE.

In consequence of the declining health of one of the subscribers, and the wish of both to retire from business here, and remove into the country, they are desirous of disposing on liberal terms, of the following valuable property:

1st. Their Window Glass Manufactory eligibly situated on the margin of the Potomac, near the mouth of Tiber Creek. The principal building of this establishment, together with six dwelling houses, of two stories each, designed for workmen, are substantial brick edifices occupying, with their enclosures, lots 8, 9, 10, 11, and 18, in Square 88, and lots 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, in Square 89, comprising in the whole above 110,000 square feet, or nearly two and a half acres of ground.

The works are now in full blast, and have been in successful operation for the last eight or nine years, producing an average of 3,000 boxes (equal to 300,000 square feet) of glass per annum. The workmen, it is believed, are not inferior to any in the country in the manufacture of cylinder window glass. They are sober and industrious, and from the circumstance of their having generally acquired real estate in this city and vicinity, they prefer being employed here, than removing for the purpose, to other places. Farming lands of good quality would be received in exchange for this property.

2nd. Lot No. 1 in Square 379 [northwest corner of 9th and Pennsylvania Avenue] extending 97 feet on Pennsylvania Avenue, by 120 feet on 9th Street west, with the improvements consisting of four very excellent three-story brick houses, built in the modern style, with stone cornices and slate roofs; all under rent to highly respectable tenants.

3rd. Part of Lots 10 and 11 in the same square [southwest corner of 9th and D Streets] fronting 25 feet on 9th Street west by 100 feet on D Street north, with a pleasantly situated two-story brick tenement thereon, 22 feet front by 40 feet in depth, now in the occupancy of Mr. William W. Seaton.

4th. Lot 8 in Square 253 [North side of F Street, between 13th and 14th] containing in front on F Street North 55 feet by 114 feet in depth to a 30 feet alley. The improvements on this lot consist of a spacious and very convenient 3-story brick house in the occupancy of Richard Cutts, Esq., and a one and a half story frame building adjoining.

5th. Lot 16 in the same square [South side of G Str. bet. 13th & 14th], having a front of 55 feet on G Street north by 114 feet deep to the aforesaid 30 feet alley.

6th. Lots No. 12 and 13, in Square 407 [southwest corner of 8th and E Streets] extending 75 feet on 8 Street West, by 100 feet on E Street north, with a neat two story plastered brick building thereon, with stabling, &c., lately the residence of G. Way.

7th. Part of Lot 6 in Square 349 [southeast corner 11th and Penna. Avenue] fronting 52 feet on Pennsylvania Avenue, by 131 feet on 11th Street west, near the theatre.

8th. Lots No. 3 and 4 in Square 489 [northeast corner D & 6th Sts.] having a front of 62 feet on D Street north by 125 feet on 6th Street west. This ground is high and commanding, affording a very beautiful building site.

9th. Lots 1 to 19 in Square 388 [between E and F, 9th and 10th Streets, southwest) being the south half of the square situated near the Potomac. [This was the whole F Street front of the Square.]

The terms of sale, which would be liberal credits for the greater part of the purchase money, may be known by application to

A. and G. Way."

I give this advertisement in full chiefly because it shows how enterprising the Messrs. Way were, and what good judgment they had in the selection of real estate. Whether the properties mentioned, other than the Glass-Works, were purchased with profits from the glass business, I cannot say; nor to what extent they were encumbered.

No sale of the Glass-Works appears to have resulted from this advertisement, for two years afterward a deed of trust on the Glass-House property was given on the 29th March, 1821, Liber 50 folio 386, by Andrew Way, Andrew Way, Jr., and the Executors of George Way; and another on the 5th of October, 1821, Liber 52 folio 65, by the same parties. (From which deeds of trust it appears, incidentally, that Mr. George Way had died.)

From the *National Intelligencer* of May 30, 1822, it appears that the works shut down in August, 1819, and resumed operations in October, 1820. Their career was a checkered one, marked by occasional lapses into inactivity.

It would be impossible to trace accurately and fully the business history of the works, because everybody familiar with it has been long since dead, and the books are lost or destroyed. But from the scant information now existing, the history of the factory appears, in addition to what has been already stated, to be as follows:

The Messrs. Way were very enterprising, and, for about nine years, very successful. Their works grew and flourished, and they accumulated property in other parts of the city; and, besides the property already mentioned, they owned a mill on Cabin John Creek. But they must have overreached themselves. And the tide of business seems to have turned away from them. In 1821, about thirteen years after the inception of the enterprise, their liabilities appear to have been about \$25,000, secured by the Glass-Works and the property at Ninth and Pennsylvania avenue and Ninth and D streets, northwest. But, notwithstanding this incumbrance, the business was continued under the proprietorship of Mr. Andrew Way and his brother's legal

representatives until 1829, when they failed and were sold out by Richard Smith, Trustee, to the Bank of the United States—Liber 78, folio 201, although on February 5, 1828, the *National Intelligencer* had noted that “The Glass-Works have been re-commenced by the enterprising proprietors under favorable prospects.”

On March 17, 1831, appeared the following advertisement in the *National Intelligencer*:

“Washington City Window Glass.

“The Proprietor, Cornelius McLean, Sr., respectfully offers to dealers in Glass, and the public generally, from four to five thousand half boxes of Window Glass, assorted from 7 by 9 to 24 by 30, of a superior quality and thickness, and will be ready to deliver to those at a distance as soon as the navigation opens. Any orders to the proprietor, left at his dwelling, or at the Glass-Works, will be promptly executed.”

Mr. McLean must have been operating under some arrangement with the Bank of the United States, for his name does not appear on the Land Records as grantee or lessee of the works.

On the 24th day of July, 1833, Liber 97, folio 232, of the District of Columbia Land Records, the Bank of the United States conveyed to the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company part of the lots occupied by the Glass-House—a broad strip running in an easterly and westerly direction and lying south of the works. This would *seem* to have been a severe blow to the factory, as it cut it off from the Potomac River; but when it is remembered that the water at the wharf had been reduced to two feet in depth by the shoaling of the bottom of the river, it will be seen that the advent of the canal was a fortunate event for the works, as it afforded unobstructed access for its river-boats to its very door, and opened an easy market for its glass in

the large territory traversed by the canal and upper Potomac as far as Cumberland.

Mr. Frederick Schneider, Sr., stated to me that some of the best paying seasons occurred about this time.

Mr. Andrew Way appears to have been manager of the business for some time after the failure.

On the same day as the conveyance above mentioned to the canal company, the Bank of the United States conveyed (Liber 114, folio 391) the Glass-Works to Commodore John Rodgers, one of the Naval heroes of 1812, for a consideration of \$10,697. Commodore Rodgers devised it to his wife, Mrs. Minerva Rodgers, and she owned it until September 25, 1851, when she sold it to Charles L. Coltman by deed recorded in Liber 251, folio 521.

But to return to the Glass-Works again.

How long Mr. McLean continued the business is not known, but on July 9, 1835, appeared the following advertisement in the *National Intelligencer*:

“Washington City Glass Works.

“This establishment devoted exclusively to the manufacture of Window Glass, having passed into the hands of the subscribers, will be put into active operation on the first of September next. The best materials and workmen will be provided, and especial care will be taken to improve the quality of the glass; to promote which object as far as practicable, salutary alterations have been made in the system hitherto pursued.

“Orders from dealers in this article shall receive prompt and becoming attention. Detailed tables of prices may be obtained on application. The terms will be as liberal as at any other similar manufactory in the United States.

“Address, Lewis Johnson & Co.,

“Washington City.”

Lewis Johnson & Co. must have rented the premises, as there is no deed or lease to them of record. Associated with Mr. Johnson was Major Truman Cross, afterwards killed in the Mexican War. Their success does not seem to have been equal to their expectations, and they appear to have surrendered the works after running them about three years. Mr. Lewis Johnson Davis, grandson of Mr. Lewis Johnson, thought that Lewis Johnson & Co. carried on the business at the "Old Glass-House" until the time of the Mexican War. Mr. Davis also informed me that he did not know what had become of the books of the business.

Under date of May 4, 1838, appeared the following in the *National Intelligencer*:

"For Rent.—The Washington City Glass Works, near the mouth of Tiber Creek, will be for rent from the 20th of June next. The terms will be liberal, and they may be rented for one year or longer. Apply to the Superintendent, F. Stinger, at the Works."

Two years afterward, February 13, 1840, appeared the following advertisement in the *National Intelligencer*:

"For Rent or Sale.—The Washington City Glass Works. For terms apply to the subscriber at his office on 6th Street, under Gadsby's Hotel.

J. B. H. Smith."

In 1842, in a book on Washington City, Mr. George Watterson stated that

"Among the factories which have been established in this city are two, a Glass House and a Brewery, which have been in existence for some years, and are in a flourishing condition. The window glass made at the former is superior to most glass made in this country, and is held by glaziers and others in high estimation.

"The factory has been erected near the Potomac for the convenience of water and stands near a wharf where, fifty

years ago [this would be about 1792] ships of considerable burden were accustomed to anchor.

"The depth of water in the river at that point was not more than two feet before the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal was excavated. The channel has been filled by the deposits of sediment brought down by the river and a new one is forming on the Virginia side."

And on the sixth of June, 1843 appeared the following in the *National Intelligencer*:

"Washington City Glass House and Works for Sale at Public Auction."

"On Wednesday the 14th of June at 5 o'clock p. m. we shall sell at public auction, on the premises, that valuable property known as the Washington City Glass Works with all the buildings, &c. attached thereto. Besides the main buildings for carrying on the work, there are six excellent two-story brick tenements on the premises, intended for the accommodation of the superintendent and the workmen.

"This very valuable property is situated on the Potomac River and Washington City Canal, with every facility of Water communication. There is no location in the United States where a manufactory of glass of all kinds could be carried on with more certainty of success than at this. The attention, therefore, of capitalists and others is respectfully requested to this sale, and an examination of the property previous to sale is requested.

"It will positively be sold, and a most advantageous and profitable investment may be made.

"The title is unquestionable, and the terms liberal—one-fifth cash; and the balance in four equal annual installments, for which the purchaser's note will be taken, bearing interest, and secured by deed of trust on the property. Terms to be complied with within three days after the sale, or advertised and re-sold upon the same terms at the risk and expense of the purchaser.

Robt. W. Dyer & Co.
(Globe) Auctioneers.

"The Baltimore *American and Daily Advertiser*, and Pittsburgh (Pa.) *Advertiser* will give this advertisement three insertions, and send us a paper containing the advertisement and amount of charges which will be remitted.

Robt. W. Dyer & Co."

This auction did not achieve a sale of the property, and Mrs. Rodgers continued owner of it eight years longer (that is, until 1851).

Mr. Frederick Schneider, Sr., was quite positive that the works continued in operation down to the time of the Mexican War. This would make the period of the existence of the enterprise as a glass-factory about thirty-eight years.

Whether the old works were used for any purpose from the time of the Mexican War to the year 1859 cannot now be ascertained, but in the latter year Mr. Coltman leased them to H. C. Wilson & Co. (representing Philadelphia parties) who for six or eight years manufactured lampblack and roofing cement there.

Then for a short time some one had a fertilizer factory there; and that was the last manufacturing business done in the old buildings.

Every vestige of the old factory has been gone for twenty-five years at least.

Circumstances seemed to have entered into a deep dark conspiracy to render the neighborhood undesirable for residence and business purposes.

First and foremost was the Long-Bridge causeway, built during President Jackson's time, which caused the whole water-front of Washington City to become shallow.

And more directly affecting the water-front at the Glass-House, was the extension of the wharf at Easby's Point out into the Potomac, deflecting the current from the north shore.

Then came the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company that ruthlessly blasted away nearly all of the "Key of all Keys" (the so-called "Braddock's Rock") and extended its waterway right through the Commissioner's, or Glass-House, Wharf, and carried the said waterway, on a mole, across the mouth of the small creek that drained the valley directly east of the Glass-House settlement; and, although they provided for the drainage of this valley by means of a culvert underneath the canal and mole, yet the arrangement worked so poorly that before many years, that little valley had a chain of shallow ponds extending through it from 17th and D streets, northwest, to the foot of 21st street, northwest, prolific breeding places of malaria and mosquitoes; although, to do them justice, these ponds afforded some sport to gunners in summer, and to skaters in winter.

And, contributing to the same disastrous end, the destruction of the forests on the upper Potomac in clearing land for the purpose of farming, caused a vast quantity of earth to be washed into the river, much of which settled on the bottom of the stream opposite the city, thus very rapidly making it shoal.

At the beginning of the Civil War, the old Glass-House settlement was but a shadow of its former self and but little business of any kind, including the lamp-black and roofing cement business, was done there. Some people named Coleman had a brush factory on the north side of C street, between 21st and 22nd streets, for a few years before that time, but they moved their business to the southeast corner of Pennsylvania avenue and 10th street, northwest.

During the Civil War the neighborhood was very lively. There was a corral for horses at 22nd and E

streets, and scattered over the commons were several camps for wagon-trains.

There is now a carpet-cleaning establishment on 23rd street just north of Water street.

Such is the history of the Old Glass-House factory and settlement, and the causes of their decline as far as I have been able to ascertain. I do not believe that I have uncovered all the reasons for the decline and extinction of the factory, and for the decadence of the settlement. The glass business has succeeded elsewhere. Why could it not have continued to prosper here? If the location at the foot of 22nd street became unsuitable, why did not the proprietors or others select some other eligible location and establish the business there? Other businesses, the products of which are in no more demand than that of the glass business, have succeeded here. There must have been some cause or causes other than those I have assigned, such as competition, for instance.

I have been informed recently that one of the causes that led to the failure of the works was the difficulty in obtaining suitable sand in sufficient quantity; and that the proprietors of St. George's Island, where the sand had been obtained, stopped the shipment from that place as it threatened to eventually reduce the area of the island.

I was referred to our Mr. Hugh T. Taggart for information on the subject, but when I wrote to him requesting an interview, his son answered that Mr. Taggart was too ill to converse at length on any subject; and he died soon afterward.

As I have said, the original draft of this history was published in the *Evening Star* in 1892.

It may have been only a coincidence, but in 1894, only two years afterwards, the Virginia Glass Works

were inaugurated at Alexandria, Va., and are now capitalized at \$20,000. In the same city, in 1902, the Old Dominion Glass Works were started, and are now capitalized at \$60,000; in 1903, in the same city, the Belle Pre Glass Works were started, and are now capitalized at \$100,000; and in 1904 or 1905, in the same city the Alexandria Glass Works were started and are now capitalized at \$30,000.

As a matter of fact, there was an effort to revive the glass business here about the year 1870, when Mr. John Purdy, who had amassed a fortune in the painting and paint and glazing business, put up a large structure on the Washington side of Rock Creek southeast of P street bridge, and there established a glass manufacturing business known as the Washington Glass-Works. It was on Lot 3 and part of Lot 4 in Square 23, on the west side of 24th street between N street and Rock Creek.

But Mr. Purdy was then very old and his health was failing; and owing to his lack of ability to give the business personal and intelligent attention, it failed. I do not recollect that it lasted much longer than a year. Mr. Purdy gave a deed of trust on the premises August 22, 1871, Liber 666, folio 232. He assigned, in a conversation with my brother, as the causes of his failure, the intemperance of his workmen, the refusal of his fellow-citizens to patronize him, and the competition of outside factories, particularly those in Baltimore. I am kindly informed by the Fire Department that the building was afterwards converted into a soap factory, conducted by Messrs. Memmert and Korf, and was destroyed by fire September 7, 1888, the loss being estimated at \$6,000.

In recent years a transformation has taken place on the river front near the "Old Glass House."

Potomac Park has been created and now extends from Water Street to the Georgetown channel of the Potomac, and includes the site of the Old Glass-Works* and the bed of the canal, no appearance or suggestion of which latter is now in evidence except the upper story of the old lockhouse at the foot of 17th street. And in that park, near the "Old Glass-House" locality, is being erected a magnificent memorial to Abraham Lincoln.

Improvements are gradually creeping into the "Old Glass-House" region, and when all danger from malaria shall have been removed, the waste places along the edge of the park will be occupied by beautiful residences, just as the neighborhood of Connecticut avenue, from being a mud roadway running through a very unsightly region, was changed into the splendid locality that it now is.

When I expressed such a prediction to Miss Knobloch, she said that the neighborhood could never be as beautiful again as it was in the early days of the Glass-Works.

*See Baist's Real Est. Atlas, 1913, Vol. 1, Plate 10; also General Assessment Book, Vol. 1, page 55; and District Court Case No. 781, condemning and taking square 89 for continuing the improvement of Potomac Park.

APPENDIX.

<i>President</i>	JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i>	{ JOB BARNARD,
	{ ALLEN C. CLARK.
<i>Treasurer</i>	CORCORAN THOM.
<i>Recording Secretary</i>	MRS. MARY STEVENS BEALL.
<i>Corresponding Secretary</i>	MICHAEL I. WELLER.*
<i>Curator</i>	JAMES FRANKLIN HOOD.
<i>Chronicler</i>	FRED L. FISHBACK.

Managers classified according to expira- tion of term of service.	1916	{ JOHN B. LARNER, WILLIAM KING.
	1917	{ WILHELMUS B. BRYAN, WILLIAM VAN ZANDT COX.
	1918	{ LOUIS P. SHOEMAKER, JOHN JOY EDSON.
	1919	{ MRS. CHAS. W. RICHARDSON, WILLIAM TINDALL.

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COMMITTEES.

On Communications.

ALLEN C. CLARK, <i>Chairman</i>	F. A. RICHARDSON,
W. B. BRYAN,	JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN,
CLARENCE R. WILSON,	CHARLES S. BRADLEY,
L. P. SHOEMAKER,	HENRY C. GAUSS,
FRED E. WOODWARD,	FRED L. FISHBACK

On Qualifications.

WILLIAM V. COX, <i>Chairman</i> ,	JOHN JOY EDSON,
JAMES F. HOOD,	JOB BARNARD,
LOUIS P. SHOEMAKER.	

On Publication.

JOHN B. LARNER, <i>Chairman</i> ,	WILLIAM A. DECAINDRY,
MRS. MARY STEVENS BEALL,	S. WALTER WOODWARD,
JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN,	W. B. BRYAN.

On Building.

JOB BARNARD, <i>Chairman</i> ,	GEORGE M. KOBER,
CHARLES JAMES BELL,	WILLIAM KING,
CHARLES C. GLOVER,	GLENN BROWN,
MRS. CHARLES W. RICHARDSON.	

On Exchange.

JAMES F. HOOD, <i>Chairman</i> ,	WILLIAM JOHN EYNON,
CORCORAN THOM,	C. ALBERT WHITE,
WILLIAM TINDALL,	MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

On Membership.

JOHN A. SAUL, *Chairman*.

CHARLES S. BUNDY,	EDSON L. WHITNEY,
MRS. M. S. BEALL,	W. LLOYD WRIGHT,
MRS. ELIZABETH Y. TREGO,	MISS MAUD B. MORRIS,
GEORGE TAGGART,	MISS ALICE BUKEY,
WILLIAM KING,	ALBERT HARPER.

On Exchange of Duplicates.

JOHN B. LARNER, *Chairman*.

MISS CORDELIA JACKSON,	MRS. M. S. BEALL.
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LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 15, 1915.

(Names of Life Members are printed in SMALL CAPITALS.)

Abell, Mrs. Edwin F.,	16 East Mt. Vernon Place, Baltimore, Md.
Abell, Walter W.,	<i>Sun</i> Bldg., Baltimore, Md.
Abert, William Stone,	1520 K St.
Addison, Mrs. Clare G.,	1765 N St.
Adriaans, John H.,	404 Sixth St.
Bacon-Foster, Mrs. Corra,	The Marlborough.
Baker, Mrs. Abby Gunn,	1305 Clifton St.
Barbour, James F.,	520 Eighth St.
Barnard, Job,	1306 Rhode Island Ave.
Barr, Lester A.,	The Wyoming.
Beall, Mrs. Mary Stevens,	2116 P St.
Bell, Charles James,	1327 Connecticut Ave.
Blagden, Thomas,	Deerwood, Upper Saranac, N. Y.
Blair, Gist,	Union Trust Building.
Blair, Henry P.,	Colorado Building.
Blair, Montgomery,	Hibbs Building.
Blair, Woodbury,	Hibbs Building.
Bradley, Charles S.,	1722 N St.
Britton, Alexander,	1811 Q St.
Brown, Glenn,	806 Seventeenth St.
Bryan (M.D.), Joseph H.,	818 Seventeenth St.
Bryan, Wilhelmus Bogart,	1330 Eighteenth St.
Bukey, Miss Alice,	209 Md. Ave. N. E.
Bukey, Mrs. John Spencer,	Care of 475 Pa. Ave.
Bulkley, Barry,	The Portland.
Bundy, Charles S.,	1422 Irving St.
Butterfield, John W.,	419 Fourth St.
Carr, Mrs. William Kearny,	1413 K St.
Casey, Mrs. Silas,	2006 Columbia Road.

Chilton, Robert S., Jr.,	Cobourg, Ontario, Can.
Chilton, William,	2015 I St.
Church, William A. H.,	912 B St., S. W.
Clark, Allen C.,	816 Fourteenth St.
Clark, Appleton P., Jr.	1762 Lanier Ave.
Clephane, Walter C.,	Chevy Chase, Md.
Corning, John Herbert,	520 Thirteenth St.
Cox, William Van Zandt,	Emery Pl., Brightwood, D. C.
Coyle, Miss Emily B.,	1760 N. St.
Cull, Judson T.,	319 John Marshall Place.
Dale, Mrs. Mary J. M.,	Chihuahua, Mexico.
Davenport, R. Graham, U.S.N.	1331 Eighteenth St.
Davis, Miss Adelaide,	117 B St., S. E.
Davis, Mrs. Elizabeth B.,	2212 First St.
Davis, Miss Josephine,	The Concord.
Davis, Miss Miranda P.,	3100 R St.
De Caindry, William A.,	914 Seventeenth St.
De Lacy, William H.,	Chevy Chase, Md.
Dennis, William Henry,	416 Fifth St.
Dent, Louis Addison,	1317 Euclid St.
Devereux (M.D.), J. Ryan,	Bradley Lane, Chevy Chase, Md.
Devitt (S. J.), Rev. Edward I.	Georgetown University.
Dove, J. Maury,	1740 New Hampshire Ave.
Downing, Mrs. Margaret B.,	1262 Lawrence St., Brook- land, D. C.
Dunlop, G. Thomas,	Fendall Building.
Eaton, George G.,	416 New Jersey Ave., S. E.
Edson, John Joy,	1324 Sixteenth St.
Eustis, William Corcoran,	1611 H St.
Eynon, William John,	512 Eleventh St.
Fishback, Fred L.,	1330 Belmont St.
Flannery, John Spaulding,	2017 O St.
Fletcher, Miss Alice C.,	214 First St., S. E.
Gale, Thomas M.,	2300 S St.
Gauss, H. C.,	1403 Webster St.
Glennan, John W.,	Warder Building.
Glover, Charles C.,	1703 K St.

Granger, John Tileston,	Florence Court.
Griffin, Appleton P. C.,	Library of Congress.
Hagner, Alexander Burton,	1818 H St.
Hamilton, George E.,	Union Trust Bldg.
Hannay, Wm. Mouat,	207 I St.
Harper, Albert,	505 E St.
Harvey, Frederic L.,	2146 Florida Ave.
Hearst, Mrs. Phœbe Apperson,	Pleasanton, Cal.
Henderson, James B.,	1108 G St.
Henderson, John B., Jr.	1601 Florida Ave.
Henderson, Richard W.,	1109 F St.
Heurich, Christian,	1307 New Hampshire Ave.
Hibbs, William B.,	Hibbs Building.
Hickey, Miss S. G.,	1416 K St.
Hill, William Corcoran,	1724 H St.
Hood, James Franklin,	1017 O St.
Howard, George,	Nat. Savings & Trust Co.
Howard, George H.,	1914 N St.
Hull, Mrs. John A. T.,	1762 N St.
Hunt, Gaillard,	Library of Congress.
HUTCHESON, DAVID,	1221 Monroe St., N. E. Brook- land, D. C.
Hyde, Thomas,	1537 Twenty-eighth St.
JACKSON, MISS CORDELIA,	The Terrace
James, Miss Alice R.,	634 East Capitol St.
Jameson, J. Franklin,	2231 Q St.
Janin, Mrs. Violet Blair,	12 Lafayette Square.
Jennings, Hennen,	2221 Massachusetts Ave.
Johnston, James M.,	1628 Twenty-first St.
Judd, George H.,	420-22 Eleventh St.
Kauffmann, Rudolph,	Office <i>Evening Star</i> .
Kelly, Henry A.,	P. O. Department.
Kern, Charles E.,	1328 Harvard St.
Kibbey, Miss Bessie J.,	2025 Massachusetts Ave.
King, William,	3114 N St.
Kingsman (M.D.), Richard,	711 East Capitol St.
Knight, Hervey S.,	Victor Building.

Knox-Heath, Mrs. Nelly Lloyd,	147 Highland Ave., New- tonville, Mass.
Kober (M.D.), George M.,	1819 Q St.
Larcombe, John S.,	1815 H St.
Larner, John Bell,	Wash. Loan and Trust Bldg.
Larner, Philip F.,	918 F St.
Learned, Henry B.,	2123 Bancroft Place.
Lee, Ralph W.,	1514 Newton St.
Lenman, Miss Isobel Hunter,	1100 Twelfth St.
Lisner, A.,	1723 Massachusetts Ave.
McCarthy, Miss Helena,	915 Fifteenth St.
McGill, J. Nota,	Woodley Lane.
McGuire, Frederick Bauders,	1333 Connecticut Ave.
McKee, Frederick,	610 Thirteenth St.
McKelway, A. J.,	2805 P St.
McKenney, F. D.,	Hibbs Bldg.
Magruder, Caleb Clarke, Jr.,	820 Riggs Bldg.
Magruder, John H.,	1843 S St.
Marshall, James Rush,	2507 Penna. Ave.
Matthews, Henry S.,	1415 G St.
Mearns, William A.,	2301 S St.
Meegan, James F.,	813 Seventeenth St.
Merritt, William E. H.,	1403 H St.
Merwin, Charles D.,	Sixth Auditor's Office.
Moore, Mrs. Virginia Campbell,	1680 Thirty-first St.
Morgan, Cecil,	Macon, Ga.
Morgan, Edwin F. A.,	The Owl Club, No. 30 Holyoke St., Cambridge, Mass.
Morgan (M.D.), James Dudley,	919 Fifteenth St.
Morgan, Mrs. Jas. Dudley,	919 Fifteenth St.
Morris, Miss Maud Burr,	1603 Nineteenth St.
Morse (M. D.), Edward E.,	Cosmos Club.
Mosher, Mrs. James,	2000 S St.
Moss, George W.,	2147 Wyoming Ave.
Neale, Sidney C.,	1306 F St.
Nevitt (M.D.), J. Ramsay,	1820 Calvert St.
Noyes, Theodore Williams,	1730 New Hampshire Ave.

O'Connell, Rt. Rev. D. J.,	800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va.
Oyster, James F.,	1314 Rhode Island Ave.
Parker, E. Southard,	1738 Connecticut Ave.
Peacock, Miss Virginia T.,	2466 Ontario Road.
Peelle, Stanton J.,	1416 F St.
Pelz, Paul J.,	2011 F St.
Pentland, Andrew W.,	1330 Eighteenth St.
Perry, R. Ross,	Fendall Bldg.
Porter, Miss Sarah Harvey,	1834 K St.
Pratt, Frederick W.,	2015 Columbia Road.
Richards, William P.,	District Building.
Richardson (M.D.), Chas. W.,	1317 Connecticut Ave.
Richardson, Mrs. Charles W.,	1317 Connecticut Ave.
Richardson, Francis Asbury,	Cosmos Club.
Richardson, Mason N.,	Fendall Building.
Riggs, Miss Alice L.,	1617 I St.
Riggs, T. Lawrason,	1311 Massachusetts Ave.
Rittenhouse, David,	1607 Twenty-eighth St.
Roberts, William F.,	1413 New York Ave.
Rudolph, Cuno H.,	The Dresden.
Russell, Monsignor Wm. T.,	619 Tenth St.
Saul, John A.,	344 D St.
Scisco (Ph.D.), Louis Dow,	The Woodley.
Shahan (D.D.), Rt. Rev. T. J.,	Catholic Univ. of America.
Shand, Miles M.,	Department of State.
Shandelle (S.J.), Rev. Henry J.,	Georgetown University.
Shir-Cliff, William H.,	1706 Lamont St.
Shoemaker, Louis P.,	Southern Building.
Shuey, Theodore F.,	U. S. Senate.
Simpson, Henry K.,	1207 E. Capitol St.
Simpson, (M. D.), John Crayke,	1421 Massachusetts Ave.
Small, John H., Jr.,	Cor. Fifteenth and H Sts.
Smith, Thomas W.,	1867 Columbia Road.
Snow, Alpheus H.,	2013 Massachusetts Ave.
Sowers (M.D.), Z. T.,	1707 Massachusetts Ave.
Spofford, Miss Florence P.,	The Woodward.
Swisher (Ph.D.), Charles C.,	Cosmos Club.

Swormstedt, John S.,	Southern Building.
Sylvester, Richard,	District Building.
Taggart, George R.,	3249 N St.
Taylor, Miss C. Bryson,	1822 Massachusetts Ave.
Thom, Corcoran,	Amer. Security and Trust Co.
Tindall (M.D.), William,	District Building.
Todd, William B.,	1243 Irving St.
Topham, Washington,	1219 F St.
Trego, Mrs. Elizabeth Yonge,	The Olympia.
Truesdell, George,	1627 Lincoln Ave.
Tucker, Charles Cowles,	Evans Building.
Van Schaick (Rev.), John Jr.,	1417 Massachusetts Ave.
Van Wickle, William P.,	1217 F St.
Warner, Brainard Henry,	Southern Building.
White, C. Albert,	Barrister Bldg.
White, Charles E.,	621 Third St.
White, Enoch L.,	1753 Corcoran St.
Whitney (Ph.D.), Edson L.,	1234 Euclid St.
Willard, Henry K.,	Kellogg Building.
Williams, Charles P.,	1675 Thirty-first St.
Wilson, Clarence R.,	Pacific Building.
Wood (Rev.) Charles,	2110 S St.
Woodhull, Maxwell V. Z.,	2033 G St.
Woodward, Fred E.,	Eleventh and F Sts.
Woodward, S. Walter,	2015 Wyoming Ave.
Wright, W. Lloyd,	1908 G St.

COMMUNICATIONS MADE TO THE COLUMBIA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Continued from Page 242, Vol. 17.)

1914.

- Jan. 20. Suggestions for a National Park in connection with the Great Falls Water Works. Amos B. Casselman. In the hands of the author.
- Feb. 17. Relation of the District of Columbia to the General Government. Hon. William M. Borland, M. C. Published in this volume.
- Mar. 17. The Old Homes on Georgetown Heights. William A. Gordon. Published in this volume.
- Mar. 17. Mackall Square. Miss Sally Somervell Mackall. Published in this volume.
- Apr. 21. Some Aspects of the Cabinet Meeting. Henry Barrett Learned. Published in this volume.
- May 19. Doctor and Mrs. William Thornton. Allen C. Clark. Published in this volume.
- Nov. 17. The Old Glass-House. Robert Henry Harkness. Published in this volume.
- Dec. 15. Dr. Beanes the Moving Cause of the Writing of the Star Spangled Banner. Caleb Clark Magruder, Jr., In the hands of the author.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

141st meeting.

January 20, 1914.

With President Morgan in the chair and about fifty members and guests, Mr. Amos B. Casselman made the communication of the evening, taking for his subject, "Suggestions for a National Park in Connection with the Great Falls Water Works." The subject was discussed by President Morgan, Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster, Miss Alice R. James, Messrs. Bundy, DeCaindry, Weller, Clark, Saul, Barnard and Rogers. Judge Bundy moved a vote of thanks.

At the 20th Annual Meeting, reports were submitted, officers and managers elected and the Chair appointed Messrs. William A. DeCaindry, Alpheus H. Snow and William King an auditing committee for the report of the Treasurer.

142nd meeting.

February 17, 1914.

President Morgan in the chair, about 100 members and guests.

The communication was made by Hon. William P. Borland, M. C., from Missouri, who defined "The Relation of the District of Columbia to the General Government." Representative Borland did the Society the compliment of committing his views to writing contrary to his usual custom of speaking without notes, because, as he said, he desired to be very exact when speaking before a historical society.

The ensuing discussion was participated in by President Morgan, Messrs. Weller, Shoemaker, Dennis, Truesdell, Topham and Dr. Tindall. Mr. Washington Topham moved a rising vote of thanks.

143rd meeting.

March 17, 1914.

First Vice-President, Hon. Job Barnard, in the chair, with about 200 members and guests present. Resignation of Mr. William Henry Dennis from the treasurership and ap-

pointment by the Board of Mr. Corcoran Thom to fill the vacancy.

Mr. William A. Gordon presented his communication on "The Old Homes on Georgetown Heights," a subject that called forth additional interesting information from Justice Barnard, Col. Blount, Miss S. S. Mackall, Dr. Tindall and Messrs. Clark, Weller and Shoemaker. At the end of the discussion, Mr. Weller moved a rising vote of thanks to Mr. Gordon.

144th meeting.

April 21, 1914.

President Morgan in the chair, and about 50 members and guests in the audience.

Announcement was made that at the request of the "Star Spangled Banner Society of Prince George's County, Md.," and by a resolution of the Board, the Columbia Historical Society would offer a bronze medal to the public school pupil of that county writing the third best patriotic composition, subject, "Charles Carroll of Carrollton." The medal, appropriately engraved as the gift of the Society, was offered to encourage patriotism and stimulate interest in national history.

Mr. Henry Barrett Learned was introduced and read his communication on "Some Aspects of the Cabinet Meeting." The subject was discussed by President Morgan, Judge Bundy, Miss James, Mrs. Downing, and Vice-President Clark who also proposed a rising vote of thanks.

145th meeting.

May 19, 1914.

President Morgan in the chair. About 150 members and guests present.

The communication of the evening was by Vice-President Allen C. Clark, his subject being "Doctor and Mrs. William Thornton." Justice Hagner, Admiral Stockton and President Morgan added items of interest in the discussion that followed, and Mr. Clark received a rising vote of thanks.

146th meeting.

November 17, 1914.

President Morgan in the chair and about 100 members and guests present.

The historian of the evening was Mr. Robert H. Harkness, whose communication related to "The Old Glass-House." The subject was discussed by Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster, Mr. William Brown, Mr. M. I. Weller and Vice-President Barnard. Mr. Weller moved a rising vote of thanks.

147th meeting.

December 15, 1914.

President Morgan in the chair with an attendance of about 80 members and guests.

The resolutions of sympathy and sorrow on the death of Hugh T. Taggart, prepared by Mr. M. I. Weller and passed by the Board, were read by the Secretary, Mr. Weller not being well enough to attend the meeting. Resolutions formally adopted by the Society.

The *In Memoriam* was by Mr. William Henry Dennis, and verbal tributes to the memory of Mr. Taggart were made by Messrs. W. B. Bryan, Henry E. Davis, Daniel O'C. Callahan, Henry H. Glassie and Col. Frank W. Hackett.

The communication was by Mr. Caleb C. Magruder, Jr., on "Dr. Beanes the Moving Cause of the Writing of the Star Spangled Banner." Vice-President Clark added some interesting facts at the close of the communication.

All the above meetings were held in the banquet hall of The Shoreham.

IN MEMORIAM

RESOLUTIONS OF SORROW AND SYMPATHY OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

*Prepared by M. I. Weller; passed by the Board, October 16,
1914; adopted by the Society, December 15,
1914.*

Whereas, By the inexorable decree of Almighty God, our cherished friend and esteemed associate, HUGH T. TAGGART, has been called to his eternal home, and

Whereas, in the deeply lamented death of our beloved charter member, the Columbia Historical Society has sustained an irreparable loss, and

Whereas, By the removal of our co-manager who by his sterling, manly attributes and transcendent ability in historical research, had endeared himself to every one of us, and desiring to express the intense grief of the members of this Society, be it therefore

Resolved, That we mourn the death of our distinguished companion, and tender to his bereaved family our heartfelt sympathy. And be it furthermore

Resolved, That these resolutions be duly inscribed upon the minute book of our Society and a copy sent to the family.

IN MEMORIAM—HUGH THOMAS TAGGART,
ESQ.

BY WILLIAM H. DENNIS.

(Read before the Society, December 15, 1914.)

Hugh Thomas Taggart, whose death, on October 6, 1914, we deeply mourn, was a man cast in no ordinary mold.

Rugged, forceful, courageous and devoted to duty, he merited, by his ability and actual achievement, much wider fame and recognition than he gained, or, indeed, cared to gain, in the world.

Concerning him, the poet's hyperbole about King Charles of Sweden might have been used with aptness:

"A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labors tire."

His career was one of incessant toil and struggle, and service mainly for others. He was of a serious and earnest, though companionable temperament; and whether from necessity or choice, he cultivated but little the lighter side of life. He was not fond of joining social or fraternal organizations, as many men are; and he found his pleasure in hard work and overcoming difficulties, rather than in the amusements or diversions customary with others. This is not to say that he was morose or severe, for he was quite the reverse of that, but only that he was absorbed in serious pursuits.

To recite briefly the facts of his life, Mr. Taggart was born in Baltimore County, Maryland, August 15, 1844, the son of Hugh T. and Elizabeth (Fairgreave) Taggart.

While he was still a child, his parents moved to Georgetown, D. C., and a few years later moved again, this time to Georgia, near Dalton, where his father bought and cleared a tract of land and engaged in farming. The son began his education at a cross-roads school, and continued it in the town of Dalton; but it was interrupted there by the return of the family to Maryland, so that he attended the public schools in Baltimore, and was graduated from the high school in 1863.

Attracted again to the District of Columbia, he began the study of law in the office of John Blair Hoge, acting also as clerk for the contractor who built the old Department of Agriculture.

These varied experiences no doubt gave the practical turn to his mind, and caused his wide range of interest in men and things.

He completed his law studies in the Columbian (now George Washington) University, and was admitted to the Bar on November 5, 1869.

He was then fortunate in entering the law offices of the late Enoch Totten, who had not only brilliant and commanding talent and a large practice, but also a most genial, inspiring and magnetic temperament, which gave the start and was the inspiring cause of the success of a number of younger men who were associated with him from time to time.

When Col. Totten became the attorney for the old city government in 1870, he appointed Mr. Taggart as one of his assistants, and put great reliance on the skill and energy already displayed by his junior.

To this period in Mr. Taggart's career belongs his establishing, in the face of great difficulties, *The Washington Law Reporter*, a weekly paper publishing the decisions of the local courts and other legal



HUGH T. TAGGART.

news. The first issue was on January 13, 1874, and he conducted it for several years, until its existence became assured, and its value to the profession and the public was fully recognized.

On October 12, 1881, he was appointed assistant United States attorney for this District, by Col. George B. Corkhill. This may be said to have been a turning-point in his life, for thereafter his principal and immensely valuable service was devoted to the public interests, as represented by the United States Government.

During his long service as a prosecutor he became recognized as one of the greatest experts in the difficult and intricate science of drawing pleadings in criminal cases; and the indictments written by him, many of them to meet novel and doubtful problems raised by statutes or peculiar circumstances, were masterpieces of skill and withstood the attacks of the ablest and most ingenious opponents, quick to detect any possible flaw.

He was married in 1877 to Annie M., daughter of Richard F. Jackson, of Fairfax County, Va., and was the devoted father of a good old-fashioned family of ten children. His heart was big enough to hold them all; and when one of them, a son who bore his own name of Hugh, died in the prime of manhood a few years ago, decline in the father's previously vigorous health seemed to begin from the shock of that loss.

His residence most of his life was in Georgetown, in one of the typical old mansions there, which he enlarged so as to keep as many as possible of his family about him, and where he breathed his last, surrounded by them, as he would have wished.

Several great events stand above the rest in Mr. Taggart's long practice at the Bar, though his work was arduous and important throughout.

The first was his part in the prosecution of Guiteau for the murder of President Garfield, which was practically the beginning of his duties in the office of the United States attorney. Besides other details, a difficult technical question was presented by the facts that the victim was shot in this District, but died in the State of New Jersey, so that it was argued that the crime of murder was not complete in either jurisdiction. Mr. Taggart prepared the Government's brief in this point, and carried it through successfully on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Another mountain peak in the range created by his labors was the great and in many ways unique case known as "United States vs. Morris and others," or more familiarly as the Potomac flats litigation, which, beginning with the claim of the Kidwell heirs to a pre-emption claim located on the marshes created by the Long Bridge, grew into an adjudication of all the disputed riparian or water-rights in this District along the great river and its Eastern Branch. Under a special act of Congress, the Attorney General on December 15, 1886, wisely appointed Mr. Taggart a special assistant to take charge practically of the whole matter. It would require a volume to do any justice to the Herculean task which he accomplished; and it must suffice to say that against the able opposition of leading members of the Bar from the District, Maryland and Virginia, Mr. Taggart successfully maintained all the points he claimed for the Government, up to and in the Supreme Court of the United States, and afterwards adjusted equitably the multitudinous and involved claims of those who had acquired rights in the immense amount of valuable property involved.

It was a case that appealed strongly to his historical instincts, and he followed it up keenly in all the ramifi-

cations, even when they were not connected practically with the result to be attained in the suit. Among the parties were the heirs of the great Chief Justice John Marshall and of his brother, James Marshall, the heirs of Henry Harford, last proprietor of the province of Maryland; of Robert Peter, Daniel Carroll, and many other of the old families of the District.

Again, when we enjoy the beauties and benefits of the great Rock Creek Park, we should remember that Mr. Taggart performed a most important work in the legal proceedings by which the United States acquired the title to all this land. As one example of his thoroughness, it may be recalled that some of the owners sought to increase their claims as to the value of their property, by showing that traces of gold have been found there, and it is possible that it might be mined profitably. Mr. Taggart delved deeper, and through his usual habits of research, was able to show that under the original patents from Lord Baltimore, as proprietary, and, indeed, under the King's charter to him, any mines of gold or silver did not pass to private grantees, but were reserved to the Lord Proprietor, therefore to the State of Maryland, and therefore to the United States.

Another public service rendered by Mr. Taggart, and naturally little known or understood outside the legal profession, was his chairmanship for over a dozen years of the committee appointed by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia to examine applicants for admission to the Bar. This work grew to very large proportions during his incumbency. The semi-annual examination in June, 1914, the last in which he took part, showed a list of over 250 candidates; and the total has been in the hundreds each year, including both sexes, and, it may be said, all colors, in-

cluding at various times Indians, Filipinos, Porto Ricans and possibly other races, besides citizens of every State of the Union. His absolute fairness and sense of justice, combined with kindness and sympathy, his firmness in the right, and cordiality in personal intercourse all had scope in this position. He was a tower of strength to the committee, in regard to maintaining a high standard for admission to the Bar, and was the personal friend of each one of them in their hearty mutual cooperation to the same end. The system built up while he presided as chairman is likely to stand for a long time to come, in dealing with the difficult problem of the multitude who apply here for admission to the Bar.

To the Columbia Historical Society, the death of Mr. Taggart is a loss peculiarly severe, not only by reason of his personal qualities as a friend, but also from the cessation of his activities in advancing the work for which the Society exists. He had a noble passion for accuracy and truth, and for historical research, with those ends in view. No labor and inconvenience daunted him in the pursuit of facts or the task of investigation. Fortunate would it have been if all his time had been free to devote to such work, and the carrying out of his projects. Some of his favorite subjects of inquiry are well known through his discussion of them, such as facts connected with old Georgetown, also the obscure and elusive history of Braddock's line of march, and the exploding of the absurd myths that have grown up around the name of that maligned citizen, the alleged "rough old Scotchman 'Davy' Burns"—who, as Mr. Taggart triumphantly proved, was not rough, not old when the District was established, not a Scotchman but an American, and who

was not even called "Davy" in his lifetime, so far as known, unless perhaps when he was a child.

Mr. Taggart was a charter member of this Society when it was organized in 1894. At the Board meeting held January 4, 1897, he was elected a Councilor (as the office was then called) to fill the unexpired term of John G. Nicolay, and this was ratified by the Society at its ensuing annual meeting, February 1, 1897. This began a term of service which ended only with his death, his title merely changing to that of Manager, *i. e.*, one of the Board of Managers, when the constitution of the Society was amended February 7, 1898.

His communications in the published records of the Society were, "The Presidential Journey, in 1800, from the Old to the New Seat of Government," February 6, 1899, volume 3, and "Old Georgetown," May 13, 1907, volume 11.

He served on the following committees in the years mentioned: The L'Enfant Memorial, 1898; Old District Families, 1902 (vol. 4); Early City Records, 1902 (vol. 5); On Communications, 1904-8 (vols. 7 to 11); On Exchange, 1909-14 (vols. 12 to 17); Committee Representing the Society at the Reinterment of Maj. L'Enfant, April 28, 1909.

Until prevented by failing health, he attended the Board meetings, and at the meetings of the Society generally took part in the discussions, with interest and instruction to all who heard him.

For historical, as well as patriotic reasons, he did all in his power, at some sacrifice to himself, to aid the preservation of the mansion in Georgetown of Francis Scott Key, author of "The Star Spangled Banner."

A picture all "high lights," we are warned, is not an artistic portrait, and Cromwell demanded that his wart be shown on the canvas; but it would be difficult to find

shadows to depict in the presentation of our friend. Even his failings leaned to virtue's side. It may be said that he did not cultivate the softer graces of life. He did not use compliment, or suavity, or even much of the conciliatory spirit in the contests of the forum. His methods were forthright, of the sledge-hammer kind, and relying on the strength of his cause. Yet he bore no malice, and harbored no grudges; and chicanery, trickery, and double-dealing were all abhorrent to him. He was fair and square and manly in all that he did and said.

One of his foibles, and that an innocent one, was that he seemed to have little sense of the flight of time. Not only did he work slowly and deliberately in circumstances where most other men would have rushed or hurried; but whatever the pressure of work, he seemed always ready to greet a visitor and to enter into an elaborate oral discussion, either of the subject in hand, or some other subject, related or unrelated to it, in which he was interested. The result was that he labored not only many hours, but at irregular hours, and very often late into the night; and as he never spared himself, and finished what was to be done, no matter how long it took, it is probable that his health eventually suffered, and his life was somewhat shortened by this lack of systematic apportionment of his time.

Mr. Taggart was never a seeker either for surface popularity or his own advantage. He was a man who would not flatter Neptune for his trident nor Jove for power to thunder. After his immense services to the Government and the public interests in the Potomac flats cases, the question came up before a committee of Congress as to the special compensation to be allowed to him for the millions he had saved. He was induced to appear in his own behalf before the committee, but

when its members began to catechize him as to his statements and apparently to throw doubt upon them, he informed them in somewhat emphatic language that they could do what they thought fit about the matter, and he bade them good-day and went out.

His religious belief was deep and sincere, not blind or merely formal. His natural bent of mind and his training caused him to face bravely the greatest and highest questions in life, as well as the current ones of every day, and not to bow to any authority until satisfied that it justly commanded his assent and allegiance. Whatever doubts arose in his mind, he grappled with and fought them out. The result was a sturdy adherence to his Church, and a death consistent with his faith. Needless to say that both his private and public life were clean and honorable, and that he was an exemplar of the Christian gentleman.

There is a natural feeling of protest in the minds of most of us that a life so full of service and achievement is likely to have a very inadequate share of public fame, or even recollection except among comparatively few who know the record of it intimately. This is one of the mysteries of life. We may well have faith that there is compensation otherwise for this lack of the applause of the multitude; but we are driven to the old comparison of the coral insect that builds solidly for the foundation of a future continent, and dies leaving the result of its work as its monument.

The monument of Mr. Taggart's work is hidden from the eyes of most of the world, especially outside of the legal profession, in weighty tomes of records, briefs and court reports. He would have repelled with fierce contempt the idea of making it in any way sensational, or seeking for recognition of his own personality, or in the expressive colloquialism of the day "playing to

the grandstand'' or to the galleries. Hence we must recognize, though with regret, that it is not likely that he is or will be fully appreciated by more than comparatively few, or as compared with many whose qualities were more showy, though less solid.

But we, his close associates, while surviving and able to do so, will bear testimony and in every way strive to perpetuate the memory of the worth and service of one who did his duty and never sought his own glory—Hugh Thomas Taggart, of Georgetown.

STATEMENT OF CORCORAN THOM
TREASURER, COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
From April 15, 1914
To January 15, 1915.

RECEIPTS

1914	
April 15	Balance in Riggs National Bank \$ 754.63
	Dues received from members 220.00
	Received from Mr. James F. Hood, Curator, account sale of Volumes 13, 15, 17, 1 to 5 and 7 to 12 inclusive 43.40
	<u>\$1,018.03</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

1914	
April 24.	Amt. paid The Courant Print, printing ...\$ 6.55 V. 1
April 24.	Amt. paid Mrs. Beall, Sec'ty, 2 months' salary and postage 60.52 V. 2
May 22	Amt. paid Shoreham Hotel 30.00 V. 3
May 22	Amt. paid Mrs. Beall, Sec'ty, salary and postage 30.10 V. 4
May 22	Amt. paid The Courant Print, printing ... 2.65 V. 5
May 22	Amt. paid W. F. Roberts Co., printing bills 3.00 V. 6
June 3	Amt. paid Shoreham Hotel 15.00 V. 7
June 3	Amt. paid Pacific Office Bldg Co., rent .. 30.00 V. 8
July 18	Amt. paid Pacific Office Bldg Co., rent 10.00 V. 9
July 18	Amt. paid New Era Printing Co. 277.41 V. 10
July 18	Amt. paid John B. Larner, acct. freight, expressage and postage on books to members 24.80 V. 11
July 23	Amt. paid Albert B. Dent, acct, auditing books of Treasurer, Mr. Dennis 50.00 V. 12
Aug. 6	Amt. paid Pacific Office Bldg. Co., rent ... 10.00 V. 13
Aug. 6	Amt. paid C. C. Magruder, Jr., acct bronze medal 3.00 V. 14
Oct. 9	Amt. paid Chas. E. Hood, Agt. insurance on library 4.90 V. 15
Oct. 9	Amt. paid Pacific Office Bldg. Co. acct. 2 months' rent 20.00 V. 16
Oct. 23.	Amt. paid Mrs. Beall, Sec'ty, acct postage and express charges 3.55 V. 17
Nov. 5	Amt. paid Pacific Office Bldg. Co., acct. rent 10.00 V. 18
Nov. 23	Amt. paid Mrs. Beall, Sec'ty 25.00 V. 19
Dec. 1	Amt. paid Pacific Office Bldg. Co., rent ... 10.00 V. 20
Dec. 18	Amt. paid The Courant Print, acct. printing 5.30 V. 21
Dec. 18	Amt. paid Mrs. Beall, Secy, acct salary and postage 31.43 V. 22
1915	
Jan. 6	Amt. paid Pacific Office Bldg. Co., rent ... 10.00 V. 23
Jan. 15	Balance in Riggs National Bank 344.82
	<u>\$1,018.03</u>

Washington, D. C., March 10, 1915.

CORCORAN THOM,
Treasurer, Columbia Historical Society.

Examined and found correct:

Wm. E. H. Merritt,
J. H. Small,
John Herbert Corning
Auditing Committee.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE RECORD- ING SECRETARY

*To the President and Members of the Columbia Historical
Society*

Greeting:

The Recording Secretary has the honor of submitting the twenty-first annual report beginning with January 20, 1914, and ending with December 15, of the same year.

During the year the Society added four to its list of active members, lost four by resignation, six by death and has a membership of 211, classed as active and non-resident.

The Board of Managers has held eight meetings in the office of Mr. John B. Larner, Washington Loan and Trust Building, with an average attendance of seven members. The Society has held seven meetings in the banquet hall of The Shoreham, with an average attendance of 110 members and guests.

Volume 17 of THE RECORDS issued during the year, departed from the practice of the Society hitherto, and instead of presenting the communications made during 1913, printed "The Writings of George Washington relating to the National Capital." The communications of 1913 and of 1914 are included in volume 18, now in press.

The books, pamphlets, maps, etc., belonging to the Society have increased so rapidly through gift and exchange, that already our room in the Pacific Building reminds those who remember the old Library of Congress of its congested condition and we can but hope that our members will take an active interest in securing more commodious quarters for the housing of our possessions, in which we should all take a proper pride, conveniently situated for the meetings of the Board, the various committees, the use of members and others desiring to consult our books and records.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY STEVENS BEALL,
Recording Secretary.

January 19, 1914.

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR

To the President and Members of the Columbia Historical Society:

I hand you herewith my twenty-first annual report as Curator of the Society.

By gift or exchange, the following books, pamphlets, etc., have been added to our library:

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF MAPS OF SPANISH POSSESSIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1502-1820, Lowery Collection.

REPORT OF LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS AND REPORT OF SUPERINTENDENT OF LIBRARY BUILDING AND GROUNDS, 1914.

CATALOGUE OF PUBLICATIONS ISSUED BY THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SINCE 1897.

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER, by Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, Chief of Division of Music, 1914.

NOTES ON THE CARE, CATALOGUING, CALENDARING AND ARRANGING OF MANUSCRIPTS, by J. C. Fitzpatrick, Chief Assistant, Division of Manuscripts, 1913.

HANDBOOK OF CARD DISTRIBUTION, third edition, 1914.

L. C. PRINTED CARDS, how to order and how to use them

List of series of publications for which cards are in stock: method of ordering.

All the above in exchange with the Library of Congress.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Publications of, 1914. In exchange with the Society.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. Bulletins of, March to December, inclusive, 1914. In exchange with the Library.

NORTH CAROLINA, UNIVERSITY OF, James Sprunt Historical Publications; North Carolina Colonial Bar and The Granville District Vol. 13, No. 1. In exchange with the University.

MICHIGAN, SKETCH OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES IN, by George Newman Fuller, Ph.D., 1914.

MICHIGAN, FIRST ANNUAL REPORT, 1914.

MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION, Patrick Sinclair, by William L. Jenks, 1914. (All Michigan publications in exchange with the Michigan Historical Society.)

ANNUAL MAGAZINE SUBJECT INDEX, 1913. Frederick Winthrop Faxon, A. B., 1914. In exchange with the compiler.

COSTUME, BOOKS ON, THE CHARLES G. KING COLLECTION OF, Tract No. 93. The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1914. In exchange with the Society.

INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, Vol. X, No. 1, March, 1914.

AN INDIANA VILLAGE, NEW HARMONY, by John H. Holliday, Vol. V, No. 4. 1914. (Indiana publications in exchange with the Society.)

THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD, A Memorial Address by Frederick Jackson Turner, 1914. In exchange with the Wisconsin Historical Society.

MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, COLLECTIONS OF, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1914. In exchange with the Society.

NEBRASKA, BANK DEPOSIT GUARANTY IN, Z. Clark Dickinson. Bulletin, No. 6. 1914. In exchange with the Society.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS OF REDDING, CONNECTICUT, by W. E. Grumman. In exchange.

NAPOLEON MYTH, THE, by Henry Ridgely Evans, 1905. Gift of the author. Also

DEAD, THE ROMANCE OF, by Henry Ridgely Evans. 1913. Gift of the author.

PRATT, THOMAS GEORGE, SKETCH OF, by Caleb Clarke Magruder, 1913. Gift of the author.

LOUISBOURG, THE SEIGE OF, in 1745 and in 1758; by Caleb Clarke Magruder, 1914.

CLAN GREGOR SOCIETY, AMERICAN, YEAR BOOK OF, 1914. Gift of the Society.

Y. M. C. A., WHAT THE, IS DOING IN WASHINGTON, D. C. 1914. Gift of the Association.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, A MAGAZINE OF, Vol. IX, No. 4. Fourth Quarter, 1914. Gift of editor.

NORTH DAKOTA, CATALOGUE OF, University of, 1913-1914. Gift of University of North Dakota.

VOLTA REVIEW, Vol. XIV. No. 7, July, 1914. Gift of the Volta Bureau.

PORTRAITS, ENGRAVED, relating to the history of America, catalogue of, with many illustrations. Paris. Gift of publisher.

CONSTELLATION, REMARKS OF HON. J. CHARLES LINTHICUM, OF MARYLAND, ON THE PRESERVATION AND REPAIR OF, 1914.

COLORADO, FACTS CONCERNING THE STRUGGLE IN, FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM; issued by the Coal Mine Managers, 1914. Also Bulletins Nos. 1, 2, 3, 14, 15. 1914.

NEBRASKA ABORIGINES, THE, as they appeared in the 18th century; by Father Michael A. Shine. 1913.

INVENTION, THE MOST IMPORTANT, OF THE TIMES; by Elbert Hubbard. 1914.

BULL RUN, SOUVENIR OF THE BATTLE FIELD OF.

FOUNDRY METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, CENTENNIAL REVIEW OF THE HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF, 1814-1914. Compiled by James Lithgow Ewin.

PENNSYLVANIA FEDERATION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES; NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF, Harrisburg, Pa., 1914.

CONGRESS STREET METHODIST PROTESTANT CHURCH, GEORGETOWN, D. C. 1914 announcement.

IOWA MASONIC LIBRARY, QUARTERLY BULLETIN OF, Vol. XV. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4. 1914.

SVERIGE, ANTIKVARISK TIDSKRIFT FOR, 1914.

GARFIELD ASSASSINATION, *Washington Post*, July 4, 1881.

TRIAL OF GUILTEAU, *Evening Critic*, June 30, 1882.

WASHINGTON CITY DIRECTORY FOR 1913. Gift of E. L. White.

FARMERS AND MECHANICS BANK OF GEORGETOWN, D. C. CENTENNIAL OF THE FOUNDING OF, February 14, 1914. Gift of its President, William King. (2 copies).

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, CLASSIFIED LIST OF THE PUBLICATIONS OF, 1914.

BACTERIOLOGICO CAMARA PESTANA, ARCHIVOS DO INSTITUTO, Tome 111. Fascicule 11. 1914.

HOOKWORM INFECTION IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES. Publication No. 6 of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, 1914.

POTOMAC RIVER, 26 ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPHS OF, 1914. Gift of Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster. *Also*

IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON, Card of admission to gallery, May 8, 1868. *Also*

GANTT, THOMAS T., LETTER FROM, May 4, 1814.

FINANCIAL RELATIONS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FROM 1871-1912, ORGANIC ACT OF 1878, ETC., by Col. George Truesdell, 1912. Gift of J. D. Morgan. *Also*

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS, Quarterly Bulletin Vol. XII. No. 1. April, 1911. *Also*

GEORGETOWN COLLEGE JOURNAL, Vol. XL, No. 8. May, 1912. *Also*

NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS ABOUT DISTRICT MATTERS.

THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY, an address by Rt. Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, LL. D., F. R. S. Edinburgh, 1888. Gift of Miss Cordelia Jackson. *Also*

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CATALOGUE OF, 1640-1857. *Also*

ALBANY, DIOCESE OF, Convention sermon by Rev. J. Steinfeld Kidney, 1870. *Also*

CALIFORNIA, UNIVERSITY OF, Annual report of Secretary to Board of Regents, 1881, 1889. *Also*

CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART, CATALOGUE OF, 1882, prepared by William Macleod, Curator. *Also*

PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES, STATISTICS OF, 1884-1885. *Also*

TREE PLANTING AND SCHOOLS OF FORESTRY IN EUROPE, etc., G. B. Northrop, 1879. *Also*

KENYON COLLEGE, GAMBIER, OHIO, SKETCH OF, 1880. *Also*

AMHERST LITERARY MONTHLY, Vol. 1, No. 1. 1886. *Also*

THE STORY OF A BOOK-DICTIONARY OF CONGRESS, Charles Lanman. *Also*

JOSEPH HENRY—IN MEMORIAM—Rev. Samuel S. Mitchell, D. D., 1879. *Also*

QUEBEC, SKETCH OF, 1884.

JAPAN, REPORT OF SECOND YEAR'S PROGRESS OF THE SURVEY OF THE OIL LANDS OF, by Benjamin Lyman, 1878. *Also*

JAPAN, SIXTH REPORT OF THE POSTMASTER GENERAL OF, 1877. *Also*

MAPS, COPIES OF THE *National Intelligencer*, *Washington Post*, ETC.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES F. HOOD,
Curator.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
January 19, 1915.

CHRONICLER'S REPORT FOR 1914

Jan. 6th.

Plans were formulated for the turning of a portion of Rock Creek Park into a sample forest.

Right in the District of Columbia there is to be a "national forest," showing practically every kind of tree in the United States and how it grows under real forest conditions. This forest will cover about thirty-five acres, and is being planted by the United States Forest Service in coöperation with the authorities of Rock Creek Park. The site is in the vicinity of Camp Good Will, where the poor children of the city and their mothers go for a vacation in the summer. This arboretum is declared to be unique in this country, if not in the world.

Jan. 16th.

Site of Red Cross Hill is decided upon. The memorial to the Civil War women is to face Seventeenth Street, south of Art Gallery. Dedication in 1915 is the aim.

Jan. 19th.

Gen. Albert L. Mills, chief of the division of militia affairs, War Department, urges need of new buildings to accommodate the rapid growth of enlistments; and makes the statement, perhaps new to most of us, that the District of Columbia has more enlisted men in proportion to population, than any State in the Union.

Feb. 6th.

Mrs. William Cumming Story, president general of the Daughters of the American Revolution, has appointed Miss Laura V. Walker, regent of the Columbia Chapter, as State chairman for the District of Columbia on the work of marking the "old trail" across the continent.

The work will start at the point where Gen. Braddock landed in 1755, on the District side of the Potomac, and proceed to the District line. There it will connect with the

work of the Montgomery County (Md.) members of the D. A. R. and then be passed on to the Frederick County members.

Feb. 12th.

A spadeful of earth in Potomac Park was thrown aside today and by this simple act the formal beginning was made on the classically magnificent memorial of pure white marble which in a few years will rise on the bank of the Potomac as outward evidence of the American nation's love and veneration for Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator.

Commemorating the 105th anniversary of the birthday of the greatest American since the revolution, the unostentatious ceremony about the site of the corner-stone of the great memorial took on added significance and made this recurrence of Lincoln's natal day one long to be remembered.

Former Senator J. S. C. Blackburn, of Kentucky, was the orator of the occasion.

Feb. 24th.

The President signed a bill, recently passed by Congress, constituting eight hours as a full working day for women. To enforce provisions three inspectors were employed at a salary of \$1,200 each.

March 6th.

Death ends the career of Judge Clabaugh, Chief Justice of the District Supreme Court. He was the third person to hold the position of Chief Justice, his predecessors being David K. Carter and Edward F. Bingham.

April 1st.

Promised the strong active and financial support of nearly 100 of the most prominent men and women of Washington, the Washington Animal Rescue League was organized late yesterday afternoon at a meeting in the Woodward and Lothrop auditorium. This meeting was called to hear advice regarding such an organization from Mrs. Huntington Smith, organizer and president of the Boston Animal Rescue League. It was prompted by Mrs. Peter Goelet

Gerry and a number of other social leaders, who had consulted with Walter Stilson Hutchins, president of the Washington Humane Society. Mr. Hutchins pledged the hearty co-operation and financial assistance of the organization of which he is head to the new society. The meeting was presided over by Rear Admiral S. A. Staunton, U. S. N.

April 11th.

The beginning of a great work—that of converting slums into playgrounds for children.

Transforming the purlieus of Willow Tree Alley, which formerly included what probably were the worst slums in the District of Columbia, into a recreation park and playground, with attractive artistic surroundings, is a job now being performed by a large force of workmen under the direction of Col. Harts, the engineer officer in charge of public buildings and grounds. It is the first work of the kind ever undertaken in this vicinity, and is an experiment in public welfare activities. Considerable interest is being displayed by public-spirited citizens in the enterprise, and its advocates predict that it will be a powerful and material factor in the movement for the moral improvement and well-being of the immediate community.

April 26th.

Washington's population reaches 353,376, according to the Census Bureau's figures, while that of the Continental United States is 98,000,000, and that of its possessions is 109,000,000.

April 27th.

The death of G. A. Townsend, better known to the world as "Gath," under which nom-de-plume appeared the following works which immortalized him: "Real Life of Abraham Lincoln," "Poems," "Life of Garibaldi," "Mormon Trails of Salt Lake," etc., etc.

May 9th.

Great Suffrage Parade. Thousands of women in brilliant array march down Pennsylvania Avenue, and are greeted at the Capitol by law-makers with cheering phrases.

May 12th.

The House upholds the Organic Act and defeats all measures intended to amend tax laws in the District. The Johnson substitute for Prouty Amendment was lost by 164 to 132.

May 18th.

A great field-mass was offered up for those who died for their country in the recent war with Spain by Mrg. Russell on the Monument Grounds.

June 6th.

A corner-stone laid for a waifs' home. Bishop Harding officiated at the ceremony for the new St. John's orphanage.

The building is a magnificent testimonial to the work of a very remarkable woman who has devoted her time and her fortune to the care of the little waifs of humanity.

June 19th.

The National Geographic Society plans an auditorium for science talks. The activities of the society have grown so marvelously that new additions are necessary, and there are contemplated such improvements on contiguous property as to make it quite a feature in the architectural plan of the city.

July 11th.

Plan of memorial to Clara Barton. Three buildings, near Glen Echo, to be erected at a cost of nearly \$225,000. The group is to include a great auditorium, a home for nurses and a first-aid building.

July 20th.

The death of the Navy Flag Officer, Rear Admiral Ramsay, who saw service in all parts of the world.

We pay him no compliment, but make simply a bare statement of fact, when we say that his biography is an inspiration.

July 23rd.

The Avenue of the Presidents no longer exists. The signing of the District Appropriation bill caused the change,

as the Sisson amendment to that measure was adopted by both House and Senate.

August 7th.

Death of Mrs. Ellen Axson Wilson, the wife of the President of the United States.

September 7th.

The Postoffice moves to its new building. The quarters are magnificent, especially the corridor, which is said to have been erected at a cost of \$400,000.

September 13th.

Commemoration exercises of Francis Scott Key, the author of "Star-Spangled Banner." It was the 100th anniversary and held under the auspices of the District Daughters of the American Revolution.

September 19th.

The monument to "Capital Savers" is unveiled. The survivors of the 25th N. Y. Cavalry see the regiment's bravery honored.

State and Federal Government officials as well as members of the commissions which had charge of the construction of the monument took part in the exercises. The remnant of those who fought in the battles was there, and the program did not lack Confederate representatives. It was again the joining of the North and South, when Union and Confederate veterans clasped hands in tribute to bravery.

October 1st.

The State pays honor to the first President. A stone is placed in the Washington Monument by the citizens of Washington State. Secretary Lane speaks at the unveiling exercises, and calls the great shaft the national pledge by which every American takes the oath of loyalty.

October 5th.

Prayers for peace in stricken Europe. Persons of every religious denomination gather in churches throughout the country. Services in Washington were attended by thousands in all the walks of life. President Wilson sets the example, while the British Ambassador is present at Mount St. Alban. It is the first of the kind in the history of the nation.

December 2nd.

Chief Justice Covington, of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, addressed a large body of citizens at the New Willard last night, in which he urged more perfect coöperation with Congress in our effort to make Washington the most beautiful city in the world.

He said, in part:

"I know that there has been developed an air of smug complacency which regards the average Representative or Senator as a provincial, having a narrow view of Washington's needs and Washington's rights, but I think I may say to you as a resident having common cause with you for the continuance of the progress of this beautiful city that the attitude toward Congress is to some extent a mistaken one."

In concluding, the speaker declared that it was exceedingly unfortunate that any differences of opinions should have arisen between Congress and the citizens of the District, and that with the elimination of these differences we shall remove the only obstacle to the accomplishment of the rapid growth and beautifying of the National Capital.

Respectfully submitted:

MARTINA CARR.

January 17th, 1915.

NECROLOGY.

- 1914, April 28th.....MRS. MARTIN A. KNAPP.
1914, May 31st.....ALDIS B. BROWNE.
1914, July 20th.....FRANCIS M. RAMSAY, U. S. N.
1914, September 18thWILLIAM FRANCIS BYRNS, M. D.
1914, October 6th.....HUGH T. TAGGART.
1914, November 21st.....MRS. VINNIE REAM HOXIE.

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